Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-94-230
Wednesday
30 November 1994

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FBIS-EEU-94-230 *30 November 1994*

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Contact Group: No Changes in Original Peace Plan

AU2911181194 Paris AFP in English 1642 GMT 29 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Nov 29 (AFP)—The five-nation contact group on Bosnia reaffirmed its dedication to its original peace plan Tuesday but admitted it had no means of enforcing acceptance on the Serb leadership other than war-weariness among the Serb people.

Emerging from nearly two hours of talks with Bosnian leaders, group spokesman Charles Thomas said the envoys had reassured them there would be no changes to the original peace plan signed in Geneva in August, and that rumours of modifications were unfounded.

In particular he said the group would insist on Serb acceptance of the map drawn up by the group granting 51 percent of the country to the Croat-Moslem Bosnian federation, effectively requiring the Serbs to give up around a third of the territory they now hold.

Questioned as to what pressure could be brought on the Serb leadership in Pale, the U.S. representative to the group stressed that the Bosnian Serb people were "sick and tired of the war, and at some point the people's voice will have to be heard."

He said he was "optimistic" that the current plan would eventually be accepted: "It's a viable plan, we think it's workable, and we think it does useful things for both sides."

On a reported turnabout by Washington on allowing the Bosnian Serbs to confederate with Serbia, Thomas insisted no changes to the current peace plan were envisaged and that the United States would not impose on the Bosnian government any solution to which it was opposed.

The meeting in Sarajevo was a consultation exercise prior to next Friday's [2 December] meeting in Brussels of the contact group foreign ministers, he said.

Bosnian Vice President Ejup Ganic, commenting after the meeting, stressed that if there any request for changes to be made to the plan, "the answer will be no."

The envoys, representing the United States, Russia, France, Germany and Britain, were due to fly back to Zagreb later in the afternoon without travelling to Pale, 15 kilometres (10 miles) east of Sarajevo, for talks with the Serb leadership.

On Wednesday, United Nations Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali was expected to arrive in Sarajevo and on Friday members of the contact group are to meet at foreign minister level in Brussels.

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Government Measures on Fuel Smuggling to FRY

AU2911163294 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 15 Nov 94 p 1

[Report by Andrea Stefani: "Smuggling Has Become the Target"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Strong measures are planned to reinforce the UN embargo blocking the economic arteries linking Serbia and Montenegro [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, FRY] with the outside world. An Albanian Government plan will make it more difficult to engage in embargo-breaking smuggling activities, particularly in the most favored item—oil.

The document was compiled by specialists who, using experience gained from the monitoring systems of the customs and financial police, are aiming to eradicate shortcomings and close the chinks in the blockade through which the smugglers operate. Although the document covers everything pertaining to UN Security Council Resolution 82, the measures are primarily designed to curb fuel smuggling, which has been so much debated in the press. Three clauses in the project provide for stricter controls over the documentation of private companies importing gasoline and oil products. These companies will be obliged to submit their contracts for the import of any amount of fuel to the customs authorities. Preliminary contracts, which are concluded with private fuel retailing companies, will be obligatory also for individual fuel retailers.

Other measures are designed to smash the network of illegal fuel transportation and fuel depots located near lakes and rivers and along the border with Serbia and Montenegro. Meanwhile the Ministry of Industry and Commerce will be asked to clearly define the criteria for issuing licenses for retail trading in gasoline and oil products.

The proposed measures mark a new phase in Albania's commitment—which has been highly praised in the monthly reports of the UN Security Council—to enforce the blockade against the former Yugoslavia. In the first half of this year alone, government bodies impounded over 2,000 metric tons of fuel in Shkoder, Vlore, and Durres and various goods to the value of $90,000.

Minister Resigns as 'Protest Against Meksi'

AU2911160494 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 25 Nov 94 p 1

[f.b.-signed report: "Anagnosti: 'Meksi Must Submit His Resignation'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tirana—What until last Wednesday [23 November] circulated as a rumor has now become a reality. The first serious crack has appeared in the Meksi government. The minister of culture, youth, and sports, Dhimiter Anagnosti—who is a Democratic Party deputy, but not a member—last Wednesday morning submitted his resignation to Prime Minister Meksi in person.

His resignation—as the minister himself explains—will be irreversible, whatever Meksi decides. A letter of a little more than half a page contains Anagnosti's resignation and his accusations regarding the situation the government is facing. According to him, his resignation is primarily a protest against Meksi. "You do not have the courage to resign," he writes to Meksi, at the same time describing the aura created around Meksi's person as "absurd and humiliating, which has nothing in common with my vision of democracy." After nearly two and half years of governing, Meksi now finds himself obligated to govern for a while with one minister less, at a time when he has to reshuffle the other members of his cabinet.

PR Leader Calls For 'Remaking' of Government

AU2911181694 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 19 Nov 94 p 1

[Interview with Sabri Godo, chairman of the Republican Party, by Fatos Baxhaku; place and date not given: "The Government Must Be Remade"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tirana—"The government must be remade." This is the view of Sabri Godo, chairman of the Republican Party [PR], which is represented in the legislature. According to him, it is the government that is responsible for the existence of many forms of corruption and even for the lackluster fight against many negative phenomena in today's society, from oil smuggling to drug trafficking, prostitution, and trading in children.

[Baxhaku] You have declared yourself in favor of "remaking the government." What do you mean by this?

[Godo] I mean that Albania should have more capable government personnel in order to overcome the great difficulties the country is facing. We believe the changes must be profound, and they must be made as soon as possible, although not in haste.

[Baxhaku] By "profound changes" do you have Meksi personally in mind?

[Godo] We favor changes that are as profound as possible. As far as Meksi himself is concerned, it is up to the party that has the majority in the legislature to decide whether he should stay on in the government or not.

[Baxhaku] Do you have any specific proposals regarding the composition of the future government?.

[Godo] Nobody has asked our opinion on the matter. We are looking forward to be consulted. Only then will we make our specific proposals public.

[Baxhaku] What, in your opinion, are the flaws of the present government?

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[Godo] Corruption, first and foremost, about which I have spoken many times in the past. In order to eliminate it, there must be radical changes, beginning with the privatization boards, and certain cases of privatization must be reconsidered. The government has shown intolerable negligence regarding oil smuggling, which is threatening to turn into a spiritual and material calamity for the Albanian people. It should have shown much more concern about things such as drug trafficking, prostitution, the baby trade, and everything that could be qualified as mafia activities in general.

Referendum Seen as 'Victory of Democracy'

AU2911194394 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPATRE in Albanian 12 Nov 94 p 1

[Commentary by Carlo Bollino: "Democracy Is Well Underway; Let's Start Dialogue"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tirana—Albeit after baffling and disturbing delays in the official communication channels, the outcome of the referendum was at last made known to the public. It was President Berisha who stepped in, dispelling all kinds of fear and mystery: The "no" vote has won. The will of the people, expressed in their vote on 6 November, was honored.

Political parties have gone out in the field to explain the political meaning of the vote. Everyone has their own viewpoint, but there is one thing they seem to agree on: What really won last Sunday was democracy. It is no secret that many people feared that the delay in official procedures might provide temptation to manipulate the figures. Temptation there was, but no attempt. The lesson of the most advanced European democracies finally triumphed, and this is something that must be recognized. It is an honor for Albania that Europe has acknowledged.

Discussions on how to gain approval for the constitution are now well under way: Tritan Shehu [Democratic Party general secretary] puts forward his ideas for a new referendum, and Servet Pellumbi [Socialist Party deputy chairman] says early elections must be held and the constitution must first be approved by the new legislature. However, whereas the referendum proclaimed the victory of democracy, the political parties should see in its results yet another powerful signal from the people, who have shown how one can express one's opinion by honoring the laws of civil coexistence. That signal is clear: a desire for confrontation and dialogue. Political confrontation does not necessarily always mean collision or clashing. To be confronted means talking over your ideas and sometimes acknowledging that you were wrong. The voters have shown fine democratic maturity; now it is the politicians who must show the same degree of maturity.

Kola Declares Hunger Strike During House Arrest

AU2911194494 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 16 Nov 94 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Helsinki Committee Calls For Chairman Kola To Be Released"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tirana—The hunger strike by Kurt Kola, chairman of the Association of Former Political Persecutees, has prompted the Albanian Helsinki Committee to issue another statement on the matter. Describing Kola's house arrest, which began three months ago, as inexplicable and illegal, the Committee demands his immediate release. The statement also expresses the Helsinki Committee's disappointment with the General Prosecutor's Office's failure to fulfill its promise to send Kola's file to the Tirana Court by 9 November. Kurt Kola was arrested immediately after the crackdown on the hunger strike in many parts of the country by members of the association that he heads. As he has now been under house arrest for three months without any information regarding his judicial fate, he has again declared a personal hunger strike, but this time it will not be emulated by his association.

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New Border Troops, Counterintelligence Chiefs

AU2911181794 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 29 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] On 29 November President Zhelyu Zhelev appointed Colonel Georgi Rusev Dimitrov commander of the Border Troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. He replaces Colonel Georgi Kostadinov Teterekov.

The president has appointed Lieutenant Colonel Gospodin Manolov Manolov head of the General Staff Military Counterintelligence. He replaces Colonel Vasil (?Relenchov) Stoyanov.

Article Claims DPS Counts on Romany Vote

AU2811212394 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 23 Nov 94 pp 9, 10

[Article by Valeriya Veleva: "DPS Counts on Winning 30 Parliamentary Seats With the Help of 300,000 Gypsy Votes"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Our potential voter no longer comes from only one nationality, and the next DPS [Rights and Freedoms Movement] parliamentary group will be a bouquet of different nationalities," DPS leader Ahmed Dogan declared when he introduced the movement's parliamentary candidates. The 204 candidates that the DPS is putting forward in the long parliamentary race will comprise 29 Romanies [Gypsies], 9 Bulgarians, and 166 Turks. Most of the Romanies are of the Orthodox faith, one of the nine Bulgarians is a Catholic, and all the rest are Muslims. Romanies have been nominated in the districts of Vidin, Montana, Kyustendil, Pernik, Sofia Okrug [environs of Sofia], and the 25th Sofia Electoral District; Bulgarians are running in Dobrich, Ruse, Yambol, and the Sofia 24th Electoral District.

With this move, Dogan is attempting to finally answer the question: "Is the DPS an ethnic party?" There are much fewer grounds now for us to claim that it is, and we can now return with more understanding to the words Dogan uttered at the Second DPS National Conference: "For at least another 10-15 years, the movement is bound to remain in a state of transition between an ethnic and a national party." Having once expressed his satisfaction with the fact that the DPS started off as an ethnic-based party, Dogan repeatedly stresses that "...precisely as such a party, we bear political responsibility for peaceful transition insofar as human rights and the rights of the minorities in Bulgaria are concerned."

While Tsar Kiro [nickname of a rich Romany leader], by knocking on the door of Filip Dimitrov's office, managed with difficulty to get two of his people on the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] election list, and while the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] was making the Christian Romanies from the Federation of Romany Communities wait outside the BSP headquarters, Dogan was quietly waiting for the two major parties to get their election lists ready, and then stunned the electorate by selecting six Romanies at the top of the DPS district lists and a further three in second positions with good chances of election. "The basic rights and freedoms of every man and of the minorities in our country, plus the universal values that determine our statehood and the state's indivisibility and security, remain the priorities of the DPS"—this was how Dogan justified the inclusion of Romanies in the DPS lists. The slogan "Let Romany vote for Romany" that Tsar Kiro proclaimed at the Gypsy barons' conference in Mezdra greatly serves the interests of Dogan's headquarters. The promise made by the leader of the wealthy Romanies that "we will make a party for ourselves, because only the Turks have one of their own," however absurd it may sound, nevertheless shows that the Romany leaders have already realized that they hold a strong political card called "voting power." The question is who will play this card best, especially since Bulgaria is perhaps more densely populated with Gypsies than any other European country, as the millionaire from Katunitsa [Tsar Kiro] boasted. Towns like Sofia, Plovdiv, Sliven, Stara Zagora, and Pazardzhik have Gypsy districts with 15,000, 20,000, or even 25,000 residents. The Romany leaders themselves say that in these towns the Gypsies can either seriously upset or confirm the calculations of any political force if they decide to cast their votes in block.

In the last elections, the DPS received 429,000 votes. Dogan promises that to exceed this figure on 18 December 1994. It would be interesting to know why he is so sure, given the well-known fact that about 300,000 Turks have left Bulgaria during the last three years. Under decisions adopted by the government, they are entitled to cast their votes in Edirne, Istanbul, and Ankara, but no one knows how many of them will dare to identify themselves as Bulgarian Turks in the Turkish environment that is assimilating them. They will stick their knives in both the ballot boxes and the DPS if their livelihood in Turkey depends on this.

Dogan knows that the Bulgarian Turks in Turkey are not dependable voters, and so decided to place his bets again within the country. In the last census in 1992 313,396 defined themselves as Gypsies. However, Tsar Kiro claims there are 820,000 Romanies in Bulgaria, 500,000 of whom have the right to vote. If only half of these prefer to vote for "their own man" in the DPS lists, this will be enough for Dogan to fulfill his promise that the DPS will win more than 37 seats in the next parliament. Ruined by democracy, the Romanies are looking for any way of putting their people into parliament. Only the Romany understands his people's problems, and he can only solve them if he is in power, the more intelligent Romany representatives assert. The Gypsy barons claim that unless the party leaders make gifts of oil, flour, and cheese instead of free jar tops, the only way to hoodwink the Gypsy into casting his or her vote for a particular party is for the party to have a Gypsy as its candidate. With the sharp sense of a man from a small ethic group,

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Dogan has best understood their pain—"We are not different"—and placed his bet on them in his election campaign. He wants to become the leader of the Romanies as well as of the Turks, and the size of his parliamentary group will largely depend on winning the sympathies of the Bulgarian Gypsies. "The Gypsy vote is ours," Osman Oktay, chief of the DPS election headquarters, declared last Friday [18 November]. On Friday morning he personally presented the list of Romany candidates for Sofia, led by Georgi Parushev, to the capital's dark-skinned brothers.

However, Dogan's problem will arise later, when, on top of the tobacco issue and the Turks' need for credit, he will also have to worry about the the educational, crime, and other problems caused by Gypsies' shanty towns and their inherent nature. The next four years will show whether the promised heavy injections of finance from the south and the personal commitments of the future deputies to ensure investments in the districts for which they are elected and to rescue the Gypsies from their social deprivation really come true. "We have our own program," Georgi Parushev declares from the Romany strategy and analysis center, promising that a million Gypsies will vote for him.

The Romanies must be an equal part of our society. One can only hope that the politicians are straight with them.

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Minister Names Czech Observer Captive in Bosnia

LD2911233594 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 2200 GMT 29 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Czech soldier held captive in Banja Luka is not in immediate danger and is not being threatened, Czech Defense Minister Vilem Holan said in Washington today. He stated that the person concerned was not a soldier belonging to the Czech troop from Sector South but that he was a member of a military observers' mission of the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR], Major Dusan Dubovy.

Minister Holan added that the man is under house arrest, which breaches the regulations concerning the involvement of UNPROFOR, whose members were granted free movement throughout the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Serbs are currently holding up to 500 Blue Helmets at several different places in Bosnia. Negotiations about their release continue.

Commissioner Discusses Czech Readiness for EU

AU2911162794 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 23 Nov 94 p 39

[Interview with EU Trade Commissioner Sir Leon Brittan by Milos Sklenka; place and date not given: "The Route of the Czech Republic to the EU Inevitably Must Be a Two-Way Street"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *In the context of the two-day official visit to the Czech Republic and participation in a discussion on the strategy for the integration of our country into the European Union that took place in Prague, EU Trade Commissioner Sir Leon Brittan gave an interview to HOSPODARSKE NOVINY. This British member of the Brussels executive, who is in charge of EU relations with Central European countries (only until the end of this year), belongs to the advocates of the liberalization of the community and the speediest possible opening of the EU gates to the east.*

[Sklenka] In less than a month, an EU member-countries summit will take place in Essen, Germany. What can we expect of this summit?

[Brittan] Like the Copenhagen meeting in June 1993, Essen should mark a certain break in the process of the gradual approach of the Eastern and Central European countries to the European Union. The December summit, which will end the six-month German chairmanship of the Union, should adopt a new EU strategy with respect to the East. It is expected that the European Council will authorize the Brussels executive in Essen to draft a so-called white book, which is to be prepared individually for each East European country and is to contain the macroeconomic conditions and legislative requirements each EU membership applicant must satisfy.

[Sklenka] When can one expect the white book on the Czech Republic?

[Brittan] I believe it should be ready in the first half of next year.

[Sklenka] In your opinion, how far in the future is our full membership in the European Union?

[Brittan] I would like to emphasize that there are no doubts about the future membership of the Czech Republic in the European Union. Brussels no longer questions whether the Czech Republic will be accepted but, rather, under what conditions and in what form. If I am to discuss a time schedule, 1999 to 2000 seems realistic. Nevertheless, you must submit an official application.

[Sklenka] Brussels has repeatedly emphasized that any specific talks on the expansion of the European Union toward the East can only begin after the EU intergovernment conference in 1996. It should invoke a certain revision of the Maastricht Agreement and also open the way for further expansion of the membership basis of the Union. What will its conclusions regarding the East be?

[Brittan] The European Union is a very dynamic organization, and one must use this as the point of departure. It is necessary to keep going forward and expanding mutual cooperation to reach the goals defined by the economic and currency union. From this vantage point, it is necessary for the intergovernment conference to provide such an institutional reform of the EU bodies that the community maintains its dynamics, effectiveness, and operability also in the future—that is, even after an expansion to, say, 20 or more countries.

[Sklenka] However, the government representatives of certain EU member countries are not so optimistic regarding the expansion toward the East, precisely because of the necessary institutional transformation of the European Union. Voices were heard recently, particularly from Paris, warning against "unwarranted and unrealistic dreams" of the East European countries regarding the time schedule for their integration into the European Union.

[Brittan] The European Union must undergo fundamental internal reform. From this point of view, the way of the Czech Republic to the European Union inevitably must be a two-way street. Both parties must walk their part of the way; not only you, but we, too, must prepare ourselves well. Regarding the European Union, in particular, it has to do, above all, with the decisionmaking mechanism, regional politics, and agriculture. It cannot be expected that regional politics based on solidarity would work ad infinitum because everyone can see how financially taxing it is and how it slows down the integration process. The same applies to the highly subsidized and exorbitant agriculture, which must undergo a reduction diet.

[Sklenka] And regarding the Czech Republic?

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[Brittan] The Czech Republic made tremendous progress in the area of economic reform. Nevertheless, although even many advanced EU countries can envy the Czech Republic its macroeconomic indicators, you still are quite behind in several areas. Your economic output remains rather weak in comparison with the EU average. It must be increased, and the living standard of the Czechs must be brought up to the level of the West Europeans. You also have a lot to do in the legislative field. It is a necessary condition for entry into the European Union that your legislation is compatible.

For myself, I believe that the Czech Republic, despite the successfully progressing transformation, still needs several years of preparations. The entry of your country must be advantageous for both sides. It probably would not be advisable to speed it up for some political reasons because neither you nor the European Union would benefit from that. Moreover, I do not believe that the Czech economy should quickly rid itself of the comparative advantages in foreign trade. On the contrary, it should try to benefit from them as long as possible.

[Sklenka] The Czech Republic signed the European Agreement in October 1993, but the document has not yet taken effect. Would you say it will do so before the end of the year?

[Brittan] I believe so because the European Parliament has already ratified the agreement, as did the legislative bodies of most of the Union member countries.

[Sklenka] The Association Agreement assumes the creation of a free trade zone between the Czech Republic and the European Union within 10 years from when it takes effect. Is there a possibility of free trade between Brussels and Prague being in place at an earlier date?

[Brittan] It cannot be ruled out as a certain preliminary step or a preparatory stage for full membership, but, personally, I am convinced that it will not be necessary because the Czech Republic will join the European Union before such a plan could be realized.

Klaus on Kohl Comment on Poland's EU Precedence

AU2911185394 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 25 Nov 94 p 3

[Regular interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Viktor Krejci in Prague on 24 November: "The ODS Does Not Prefer Cities to Villages"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] *In today's regular interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus, we deal with the assessment of the outcome of the local elections. Another topic is the statement by Chancellor Kohl that Poland should be the first to join the EU and NATO, and other topical issues of the week.*

[Krejci] I would like to go back to the elections. The KDU-CSL [Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party] claims electoral victory because it gained the most seats, and the ODS [Civic Democratic Party] because it gained the most votes. How do you feel about it, and will the ODS attempt to reinforce its structure in smaller towns and villages?

[Klaus] First, I would say that the idea of "seats versus votes" is useless. It is a fruitless argument. There is no doubt that the mandate villages with 36 inhabitants are something other than a seat in Prague, with its population of more than 1 million. If someone wants to make an argument out of it, under no circumstances will I join in.

Another myth is the observation by commentators, whom I tend to believe, that, while the KDU-CSL and communists gambled on the small communities, the ODS bet on the big cities. That is not so. It is simply that the ODS, with only a three-year history, has been able so far to expand its structure to approximately 1,300 communities and run its candidates in 1,600 communities rather than the 6,200 that exist in the Czech Republic. We have not speculated on anyone. We definitely do not prefer cities to villages. We simply were not able to cover any more communities with the forces currently at our disposal. We do not have secretariats in there from the time of the National Front and the communist regime. Hence, one cannot talk about any gamble on the cities or the countryside, and I am almost surprised that someone can come up with such an idea.

Third, I am a man with a statistical perception of the world, which means that I like to work with data. I have not noticed, however, an assessment that would claim the elections to be a tremendous ODS success because we obtained more votes in these elections than in the last parliamentary elections. This is a phenomenon that remains outside the scope of everyone's attention, and I do not understand why the commentators have not noted it.

It is commonplace for the political party that is the decisive force in the government to be at the lowest point of its popularity in the middle of its time in office. That is because it implements numerous measures that are not to everyone's liking. Its popularity returns then, when political passions and arguments surge by the next parliamentary elections. Nothing like that happened here, and that is a very unique phenomenon. On the contrary. Therefore, I would ask everyone to look at the data: In the last parliamentary elections, the ODS, together with the KDS, obtained 29.7 percent of the votes for the Czech National Council. I cannot speculate about how many of the votes went to the KDS. Nevertheless, if the ODS alone received 29.5 percent, it certainly is more than in the last elections. Moreover, the ODS ran in the local elections in only approximately one-quarter of the communities, which represents less than 80 percent of the population of the Czech Republic. If I assumed that the ODS would receive in the next elections a percentage similar to that in the remainder of the Republic, we

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would have more than 35 percent direct votes. Translated to the parliamentary conditions, where the parties with less than 5-percent support are removed, it means certainly more than 40 percent of seats, and perhaps even more. That is an absolutely unique outcome, and it clearly indicates that only two, rather than the current four, political parties would be able to form a government coalition.

[Krejci] Chancellor Kohl stated that Poland should have priority in the integration of new countries into the EU and NATO because the western border of Poland must not remain the permanent eastern border of the Union. How do you feel about it?

[Klaus] I do not like commenting on statements made by statesmen unless I see their authentic text. This speech by Chancellor Kohl was promised to me by our embassy in Bonn, and therefore I can only give you a free answer: On the one hand, it is not good news. On the other hand, I have been assured that the chancellor's words did not sound so drastic because they were uttered in the context of the issue of general security. In this sense, Poland doubtless still has a little different position within the framework of general European security than the Czech Republic. At this time, all of the ordinarily applied criteria put the Czech Republic in the front-running position, which has been confirmed in Prague this week by a leading representative of the EU, Sir Leon Brittan. Hence, I do not know what this statement is supposed to mean. If it is to be an expression of some internal German debate on neighborly affairs, it is no doubt a matter worthy of our close attention. [passage omitted]

[Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 25 November on pages 1 and 2 also asks the prime minister only the question concerning Kohl's statement, and Klaus is quoted as adding to the above: "If this were to indicate a certain change in the attitude of the Bonn administration toward the Czech Republic, it would be very, very unpleasant news. Nevertheless, I am not drawing this conclusion so far."]

Klaus on CEFTA, Rejection of Military Doctrine

AU2911191294 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 25 Nov 94 pp 1, 3

[Regular interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Eva Martinkova in Prague on 24 November: "The Number of ODS Votes Is Larger Than in the Parliamentary Elections"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Martinkova] The prime ministers of the signatory states to the Central European Free Trade Agreement (CEFTA) are to meet in Poznan on 25 November. Are you worried that the efforts to create a free trade zone in Central Europe might be thwarted by taking such steps as Hungary just has by increasing customs duty on agricultural products?

[Klaus] The permanent conflict between efforts to free the market and those to complicate it has been and will remain with us forever. It is long-term trends that are decisive. We are now in the era of trade relaxation, and this is expressed in dozens of free trade agreements, of which CEFTA is just one example. In this respect, I am an optimist. I have the feeling that CEFTA is a significant step forward. On the other hand, I am going to Poznan, where I will propose developing CEFTA in the sense of both liberalization processes and its expansion—that is, including more countries. We must not relax for even a second. If we relaxed, various phenomena—and the Hungarian increase in custom tariffs belongs here, as do the Slovak administrative obstructions to our exports—could prevail, and we must not allow such a decline in trust among the CEFTA partners to occur.

[Martinkova] The government did not accept the military doctrine of the Czech Republic on 23 November. Were the comments of an essential or, rather, a formal character?

[Klaus] To date, no conceptual material of any kind, regardless of from which sector it was submitted to the government, has been approved in the first round. It would be futile to make a tragedy out of it. It may be that this material in an attempt to avoid any conceptual conflicts opted for a way that proved insufficiently clear to everyone, paradoxically because some controversial matters have not been included in the document. The debate on this material was not as much a polemic with individual theses as a demand for it to become a more active document, and, in this sense, also more controversial, that will, so to speak, stick its neck out more: This is a precise rendition of the discussion conducted about it.

Minister Denies Privatization Process Completed

AU3011073494 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 25 Nov 94 p 14

[Interview with Czech Privatization Minister Jiri Skalicky by Dana Dvorakova and Tomas Marek; place and date not given: "Privatization Minister Skalicky Claims That There Is Still Property That Needs To Be Transferred to Private Ownership"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—According to Privatization Minister Jiri Skalicky, in the first and second waves of coupon privatization, many important enterprises were privatized only symbolically, and the state has retained ownership of their crucial parts. This is one of the reasons Skalicky is convinced that, despite the massive transfer of property into private hands, his ministry and the National Property Fund [FNM] still have plenty of work to do.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] Your cabinet colleague Karel Dyba recently declared that there was no longer anything to privatize....

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[Skalicky] I disagree, of course. The FNM administers more than 50 percent of the shares of Nova Hut [New Steel Mill] Vitkovice, the CEZ [Czech Power Engineering Works] generator, SPT Telecom, CSA [Czechoslovak Airlines], the Trinec Ironworks, and, last but not least, the five biggest Czech banks. Deciding on the fate of these shares is one of the most important tasks awaiting the Privatization Ministry. We are also facing a number of other tasks, which are important, albeit not as exciting for the public.

[MLADA FRONT DNES] What will the Privatization Ministry have to do before it ceases to exist in 1996?

[Skalicky] We must still deal with projects for a large number of health-care establishments and for regionally run enterprises. There will be a series of small waves following the two large waves. As a matter of fact, the coupon part of the second wave, which is now coming to its end, represents only about one-third of the volume of property to be privatized in this wave. The last projects from the list of companies included in the second wave should be approved by the end of the year.

Just now we are taking stock of privatization at all levels of the state administration. This stocktaking should end with the publication of supplementary lists of firms that are to be privatized. This will be another small wave. And, of course, we will decide on the method of selling packages of shares that are temporarily in the FNM's hands.

[MLADA FRONTA] What is more important, in your opinion—selling the packages of shares quickly, even at lower prices, or waiting for more favorable conditions on the capital market?

[Skalicky] In general, I still consider speed to be the more important consideration. This is true, in particular, where the FNM holds large stakes in firms where unclear proprietary relations hamper these firms' development. Moreover, the FNM's experience so far shows that, if larger amounts of shares are sold as one package, the buyer pays up to 250 percent of the current price on the capital market. In those cases where the FNM does not own a high percentage of lucrative shares, it is possible to consider whether it might be better to wait for share prices on the capital market to go up.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] To do that, however, the FNM would have to abandon its hitherto passive attitude toward the capital market.

[Skalicky] The FNM is hiring new experts, who should reinforce its securities section. The activity of this section should change completely.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] The FNM is hiring a surprising number of new people. Is at least the Privatization Ministry shedding staff?

[Skalicky] The FNM will be taking [illegible] roughly 30 persons. Some 50 persons have left m[illegible]nistry this year, and approximately the same numbe[illegible]l be leaving next year. The district privatization commissions will also completely wind down their activity this year, which means a reduction in clerical privatization staff by roughly 500. Much of what used to be done by district privatization commissions will be taken over by the FNM, which is why it is recruiting new people.

SDL Deputy Chairman Rezac Joins CSSD

AU2911201894 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Nov 94 p 2

[Article by "ada": "Rezac Leaves for Czech Social Democratic Party"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—Deputy Vladimir Rezac on 21 November left the Democratic Left Party [SDL], resigned from his post as SDL deputy chairman, and left the Left Bloc [LB] group of deputies. At the same time, he applied for membership in the Czech Social Democratic Party [CSSD] by filing an application form with the CSSD District Committee at Jablonec nad Nisou. Rezac said he made the move because of failure to integrate the SDL with the LB. The two parties have identical economic and social programs, the deputy said, which is why he believes it is damaging to dilute their strength.

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Gasparovic Gives Official Reply to EU Demarche

LD2911130094 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 28 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Ivan Gasparovic, the chairman of the National Council [Slovak Parliament], today handed over to West European diplomats a reply to the demarche of the European Union [EU] presented to Slovak President Michal Kovac on 23 November.

His meeting with German Ambassador Heike Zenker, French Ambassador Michel Perrin, and the chief EU delegate in Prague, Leopoldo Giunti, was conducted in a friendly and open atmosphere. Both parties jointly stated that the demarche had been an expression of a sincere effort by the EU to help Slovakia with its transformation process.

Draft Budget, GATT Timetable Approved

LD2911165194 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 29 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Slovak Government held its 38th meeting under the leadership of Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik in Bratislava today. It approved the draft budget for 1995. The draft budget expects a deficit of over 21 billion Slovak korunas [Sk]. It is specific in that it envisages covering the sum of Sk18.5 billion from the National Property Fund. [passage omitted]

Apart from this, the government has approved a proposal to sign an environmental declaration on the Danube, as well as a timetable for fulfilling pledges stemming from the concluding document on the results of the Uruguary Round of the multilateral GATT trade talks.

Meciar Trying To Gain Constitutional Majority

AU2911202294 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 25 Nov 94 pp 1, 6

[Interview with HZDS Chairman Vladimir Meciar by Vladimir Misauer; place and date not given: "Vladimir Meciar Tells LIDOVE NOVINY in an Exclusive Interview: We Seek a Constitutional Majority"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After talks on 23 November with the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], Vladimir Meciar, chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], unexpectedly announced that, immediately after the discussion of the state budget for next year, he would present the president with a proposal for the appointment of a new government. In this context, LIDOVE NOVINY asked Prime Minister-designate Vladimir Meciar for an interview.

[Misauer] Mr. Chairman, does your statement of Wednesday mean that you have already gained the majority needed to form a government, which you did not have before?

[Meciar] Yes, we are able today to form the majority needed to pass laws. However, the negotiations continue with a view to obtaining a qualified majority needed to pass constitutional laws, for which 90 votes are needed.

[Misauer] If you have the parliamentary majority needed to form a government, why are you now also trying to gain a constitutional majority?

[Meciar] The question of a constitutional majority in parliament is important for the government's future stability. Some parties would like to repeat the scenario of 1993. The KDH, for example, holds the view that it is necessary to start implementing a policy of breaking up the parliamentary clubs that emerged from the elections.

A majority of 90 votes is also necessary to pass, for example, a law on the National Security Council, which is a constitutional law, or to carry out some other changes, should the parliamentary commission for stabilization (reference to the investigating commission set up during the nocturnal meeting of the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NR SR]—editor's note) recommend changes in the constitutional system so that relations among the president, the parliament, and the government rule out or mitigate possible conflicts. Besides, being able to rely on a wider collective means spreading responsibility for solutions among a larger number of entities, which also has a reciprocal effect.

[Misauer] With whom are you negotiating on the formation of a constitutional majority? Is there any other entity in parliament, apart from the Slovak National Party [SNS] and the Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS], with which you are able to come to an agreement?

[Meciar] I am quite realistic. There is a difference between the declaration of Mr. Weiss's personal views and the stands of the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] and between the positions of Mr. Moravcik and the people around him. Considerable differences and a great differentiation are to be seen here. Premature publication could limit the maneuvering space of people who are contemplating various alternatives and feel responsibility for society and the government in areas where they want to bear it.

[Misauer] The temporary commission set up by the NR SR Mandate and Immunity Committee ascertained that the Democratic Union [DU] did not have the 10,000 signatures required to participate in the elections. How does the HZDS intend to deal with this situation?

[Meciar] People who voted for the DU proceeded from the assumption that this condition had been met. If this was not the case, it means that this party illegitimately took votes from the Democratic Party, for example. This is a clear case of manipulation.

I regard this as a challenge to DU, which, as a political party, should face the truth. It should seek out and

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identify the culprits within its ranks and draw conclusions from it. This is a serious social scandal. Furthermore, I expect that DU deputies themselves will assess their presence in parliament, given that they got into it in this way.

It will be necessary to adopt a system of preventative measures so that a recurrence becomes impossible. This means changing the election law and other matters. Similarly, I do not consider it proper for a party that committed electoral fraud to obtain financial compensation from the state.

[Misauer] Will the whole affair also have any legal repercussions?

[Meciar] I am not sure whether the legal system provides for such a situation in the first place. The system of ex-post sanctions and solutions is not properly worked out. Even though the NR SR approved the election results, it can revise its position regarding this party. The question is what legal impact this will have on the seats.

Even had this technical issue been resolved, it is not clear how the vacated seats would be reallocated among the other political entities. No legislation addressing this situation exists. Our lawyers are therefore dealing with the problem, and it would be premature to anticipate any result.

Meciar Asks DU Deputies To Give Up Mandates

AU2911181994 Bratislava SME in Slovak 25 Nov 94 pp 1-2

[Article by "(bog)": "V. Meciar Has Called Upon Democratic Union Deputies To Give Up Their Mandates"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Piestany—"The conditions put forward by the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] at our talks were valid only for that minute; they demanded that we answer yes or no. Because I did not say yes immediately, the response from their side was no. So, it is over and done with. There is nothing to discuss. As far as further talks are concerned, I consider them possible and necessary." This statement was made in Piestany yesterday by V. Meciar, chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], following his meeting with CDU [Christian Democratic Union] member L. Spath. He was reacting to questions about whether the HZDS will discuss the KDH's conditions for possible support for a new government and whether the HZDS will hold talks with the KDH and the Party of the Democratic Left.

In his view, the government could be made up of more entities that just the HZDS-RSS [HZDS-Farmers' Party of Slovakia], the Slovak National Party, and the Association of Workers of Slovakia. "We will wait and see what happens. We only know who will not be in the government. In addition to the Democratic Union [DU], the KDH and the Hungarian parties will not be in it. Everything else is under discussion," added Meciar.

As for whether he considers the annulment of the DU's mandates to be legally admissible, despite the fact that their legitimacy in parliament has been confirmed by the Constitutional Court, the HZDS chairman declared: "The people have been deceived because, in essence, DU has misled all of the voters and because the Regional and Slovak Electoral Commissions refused to count the petition sheets." According to Meciar, this is a scandalous situation, "however, not on the part of those disclosing it, but on the part of those responsible for it." He emphasized that 40 percent of the DU's petition sheets contained errors. "Several pages were written by the same person, including the signatures. For example, according to one birth registration file number [rodne cislo], a two-year-old signed that he agreed with DU's participation in the elections. Older people are listed there, but in each case they are under age 15. DU, as a political party, should look the truth in the eye. The chairman of a party that commits what I call electoral fraud must bear political responsibility, if he has any moral principles. If he has none, he will resort to the Constitution and everything else and look for responsibility elsewhere. Because this suspicion has arisen, it is the duty of parliament to deal with it. Our lawyers are investigating whether current Slovak legislative procedures make it possible to impose sanctions. This investigation is not complete."

The HZDS chairman called upon DU deputies to consider giving up their mandates.

He suggested that the DU affair will not be the last election scandal: "It would be desirable if this single incident were to put a full stop to the elections. The facts uncovered so far suggest that the groups involved in criminal proceedings will have their work cut out for them. There is a suspicion here that the elections have been jeopardized. An investigation is under way in the Hummene District, where all of the signatures, which were published in SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA, were false. It has been confirmed in a letter from the investigator that the person who submitted these papers to the electoral commission was Mr. Vavrik, state secretary at the Interior Ministry. So, this issue is of a political, moral, and legal nature."

As to whether he could be more specific about the possible sanctions against DU, Meciar said: "I do not think it is right for a party that cheated in the elections to receive financial compensation from the state for the elections and the next four years. The National Council of the Slovak Republic [NR SR] admittedly has approved the election results, but it could revise its point of view with regard to this party, and the question would then be what legal impact this would have on these mandates. It has not been resolved legislatively what would happen if the NR SR were to adopt this standpoint, which I do not think is out of the question. It will be hard for us to sit beside colleagues with the knowledge that they enjoy the same respect and privileges we do, although they came by them illegally. The need to at least

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revise the electoral law arises from this. Such a revision would make it impossible for similar situations to be repeated in the future. Leaving things up to the Constitutional Court is slow and ineffective. Perhaps the institution of an electoral court should be introduced. I assume that legal repercussions could apply to the people who organized the petition drive. I do not know how the solidarity of the parties that concealed these facts in the electoral commissions will be judged, although they could, or should, have had knowledge of them. The electoral commission also knowingly gave false information to the public."

Meciar considers the draft state budget being prepared by the Moravcik Cabinet to be unrealistic. "The government's draft is a draft of dreams. It is counting on revenue that will not exist. It wants to transfer responsibility to institutions that have no resources at their disposal. It is an illusion, nothing more. If they do not come to any conclusions by 29 November, it will be difficult for the budget to get through parliament. The provisional budget will not take long; we are working on this in conjunction with the experts."

Moravcik Answers Meciar's Allegations Against DU

AU2911182194 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 25 Nov 94 p 2

[Article by Julius Gembicky: "A Statement by Democratic Union Chairman J. Moravcik"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The comments by HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia] Chairman V. Meciar about electoral fraud and his other accusations against the Democratic Union [DU] are a deliberate fabrication and are typical of this politician. DU has adopted an unequivocal stance on this issue, a stance based on the definite existence of the mandatory number of signatures on the petition sheets for participation in the parliamentary elections and on the decisions of the Regional Electoral Commission, the Slovak Electoral Commission, and the Constitutional Court. After conducting a detailed analysis, the Regional Electoral Commission in Bratislava stated that more than 12,000 of the signatures were valid. No one disputed this at the regular proceedings. In this respect, the chairman of DU can look directly and truthfully into the eyes of all of the voters and all of the citizens of the Slovak Republic. The question is whether HZDS Chairman V. Meciar can do the same because it was his inappropriate method of political work that sparked off the decision by several former HZDS members to abandon the ranks of this movement.

The threat from V. Meciar's statement, however, lies in his words about the possibility that the "National Council of the Slovak Republic [NR SR] will revise its point of view on recognizing the results of the elections." Following the confirmation of the mandates at the constituent NR SR meeting on 3 November 1994, a precedent would be set, democratic development in Slovakia would be virtually discontinued, and doubts would certainly be cast on the opportunities opening up for Slovakia's incorporation into European political and security structures. Therefore, the DU chairman appeals to citizens not to succumb to the demagogic and false allegations being made by the HZDS. DU proceeded correctly before the elections and is attempting to proceed in a similar vein in the current domestic political situation. We have been struggling for five years for positive changes in the political, intellectual, and economic spheres in Slovakia. The issue at the moment involves making sure that this process is irreversible. It is still necessary to grapple with politicians who generate an atmosphere of anxiety, depict the existence of enemies, and then pass themselves off as the saviors of the nation from all of these imaginary dangers. This is a period in which the characters of the people who entered into politics, and also of the people in the managerial tiers and manufacturing structures of society, are being tested. It is also necessary to view the accusations made by HZDS Chairman V. Meciar, accusations based on the anticonstitutional and illegal course of action pursued by HZDS deputies in parliament, from the point of view of these aspects.

KDH Chairman Views Domestic, Foreign Issues

AU3011085394 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 26 Nov 94 pp 1, 3

[Interview with KDH Chairman Jan Carnogursky by NARODNA OBRODA correspondents, "recorded by Martin Hric," in Bratislava on 25 November: "Jan Carnogursky: We Must Not Yield to Arrogance of Power!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] Chairman Jan Carnogursky visited our editorial office yesterday. It was his fourth visit since the founding of NARODNA OBRODA. Naturally, the present situation and the possibilities of forming a new government were the number-one topic of discussion.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Were the two sets of KDH conditions the only stumbling bloc in the last coalition talks between the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] and the KDH?

[Carnogursky] Our aim is to pressure the HZDS into forming a government—on the one hand, because we respect the election results and the principles of democracy, and also, if you allow me a certain dose of malice, because populism can only be defeated by letting it govern and be shown for what it is.

But the true cause of the failure to reach agreement are two completely different philosophies. One philosophy says that, in the politically divided Slovakia, it is possible to govern successfully only if there is a predominance of one political force, achieved by various means. The proponents of the second philosophy do not consider the

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strong polarization of the political scene a tragedy and have demonstrated that a broad coalition government, a government seeking consensus even at the price of mutual compromise, is possible. Such a government may be less effective and slower because it seeks gradual steps, but it is more stable and secure.

[NARODNA OBRODA] The HZDS is stepping up its pressure to cast doubt on the elections. Do you think it wants new early elections?

[Carnogursky] I do not think so. It wants to reallocate mandates and gain a constitutional majority for at least one session, in order to change the Constitution and introduce a presidential system. The president would be elected directly and have extensive powers, while the government would be just his executive body. Such a system is not undemocratic in itself, but, given the HZDS ideas about seizing control over the control mechanisms of power, television, radio, and, for a while, the press, it might put democracy in jeopardy.

[NARODNA OBRODA] What could be the consequences for Slovakia of the European Union member states' diplomatic demarche?

[Carnogursky] The demarche was motivated by the well-known nocturnal meeting of parliament. The Slovak Republic is, of course, a sovereign state, but every state that wishes to cooperate with the European Union must fulfill certain rules. If it does not fulfill them, the association agreement need not be realized to the full extent, and the possibility of future membership might be frozen.

[NARODNA OBRODA] The citizen may ask himself: Will this make bread any cheaper?

[Canrogursky] It could become even more expensive. We are dependent on exports, and West Europe has the most solvent and most stable markets. In my opinion, the demarche is nothing that would be all that terrible. However, it was, in fact, the first signal by the European Union that, in the same way that the protection of ethnic minorities is not an internal matter of states, the same holds true for the broader basket of democratic and political principles.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Will the HZDS be able to absorb this signal?

[Carnogursky] I am afraid that the HZDS way of thinking and the way of thinking in EU states are two categories that practically do not overlap.

[NARODNA OBRODA] When Kohl wanted Poland to be given preference when it comes to admission into the European Union, his opposition reminded him of the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovenia. Slovakia once again fell into oblivion. Can the KDH contribute to correcting the view of Slovakia from the outside?

[Carnogursky] Regardless of whether the KDH is in opposition or in government, our principles and day-to-day policy are compatible with the European Union, which in itself is positive. But I certainly cannot go and ask Mr. Kohl to change his view. European politics are not made on the basis of personal or party sympathies. We have only 10 percent of voters in a small state, and our specific weight corresponds to that.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Russia's interest in maintaining a foothold in the Central European region is increasing. Is there no risk of instability from the East being carried into our country, instead of the zone of democracy and calm expanding eastwards?

[Carnogursky] For the time being, Russia is too weak to shuffle cards here, but the West does not want to expand its power beyond its own region, either. This is why something of a power vacuum exists here. The Partnership for Peace program is construed so that the natural development of forces becomes manifest here, without directly irritating Russia. From the historical perspective, Germany and Hungary always played on the same side. And Russia was always playing against Germany for influence in Central Europe. Should the conflict between Hungary and Slovakia escalate, try to figure out the balance of forces.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Where do you see a solution?

[Carnogursky] I find it hard to tolerate when some journalists see a solution in making a fuss, flexing one's muscles, and pounding one's fist on the table. On the other hand, I find the haughty attitude toward Russia just as hard to tolerate. Let us see the reality, our weight in this geopolitical space, and let us creatively seek our merits and get out of them as much as we possibly can. The fact that our relations with both Russia and the West are not burdened by the past is an undeniable advantage. Let us go with the current but not against Russia or the West.

[NARODNA OBRODA] But does not Russia already have a foot in the door here, through oil and gas?

[Carnogursky] The HZDS interpretations about the influx of foreign capital may be due to excessive speculation or a limited range of vision. When foreign capital comes here, foreign capital that has been wisely selected and that is diversified, the interest in Slovakia's integration will grow.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Some steps of our Hungarian representatives escalate tension between the Slovak Republic and Hungary. Do you think this is deliberate?

[Carnogursky] I would not dare claim that, but the fact is that they slow down the settlement of relations and the conclusion of a treaty. The problem in settling Slovak-Hungarian relations rather lies in the overestimation by Hungarian politicians of their geopolitical position. After 1989, they thought they would prevent us from completing the Danube dam at Gabcikovo and that Europe would assist them in that. This did not happen. Neither does playing the card of the Hungarian minority and territorial autonomy look hopeful for them, even

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though this game is not yet over. It is difficult and painful to wake up from such a dream.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Is it not the case that relations between two states are the best when they are based on the realities?

[Carnogursky] Certainly. But this applies to Slovakia as well. We cannot pretend that we will win 10 to zero when such a victory is not realistic. I see no reason for a tough, confrontational minority policy. After the end of World War II, we were part of Czechoslovakia, which was on the side of the victors, while Hungary had been defeated. At that time, Czechoslovakia could afford to resettle Hungarians in the Czech border area. Today, we cannot afford confrontation because of signposts or surnames.

[NARODNA OBRODA] To return to the most topical problems, the HZDS chairman expressed certain disappointment over the KDH's position but indicated that he would accept two KDH ministers (Dzurinda and Roman, for example).

[Carnogursky] That is out of the question. When there is no agreement between political entities, individuals will not violate our principles. The wish appears to be father to the thought here.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Playwright and writer Arthur Miller said that the Republicans' victory in the United States was not good because the blacks consider them their enemies and tension will grow. But the U.S. voter is supposedly able to grasp the impact of his decision in a year's time. What about the Slovak voter?

[Carnogursky] Historically, Slovaks have no experience with the impact of their own decisions. Decisions had always been made elsewhere, and we got by with putting the blame on others. It will take some time before the citizen learns to vote rationally.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Exactly how long will it take with regard to the HZDS?

[Carnogursky] If there is an HZDS government, it will be a question of months. If the HZDS will not be in the government, it will be a question of a few years.

[NARODNA OBRODA] The HZDS feels somewhat offended by your conditions. You supposedly should realize that the HZDS has 35 percent of the vote and you 10 percent....

[Carnogursky] Such reasoning is not realistic. The HZDS needs a majority, and it must itself consider what it wants and what it is ready to offer for this majority. I am not thinking of offers of cabinet posts. After all, our talks were not about joining the government, but about the philosophy of politics, about the observance of the principles of democracy. The KDH has already proved that it can endure in opposition. We have dedicated people who are ready to work for us for lower salaries and without luxury limousines. We do not have to join the coalition. We kept our conditions at the lower limit. Even had they been fulfilled, the HZDS would have kept a majority in all bodies because that corresponds to the election results. We only wanted access to information. The HZDS is showing not a realistic view but only the arrogance of power, and we must not yield to that.

[NARODNA OBRODA] If the political crisis kept getting worse, would you be ready to resume negotiations with the HZDS?

[Carnogursky] We would have to give it another thought. Our support for the government or our participation in it would be meaningful if it helped solve the crisis. Staying under the mark of those minimal requirements would not contribute to solving the crisis.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Several political parties court the churches and seek their favor. How do you evaluate the letter of priests from the Spis area?

[Carnogursky] Even as someone with the most intrinsic links to the church, I consider it historically expedient for churches not to become involved in politics, perhaps with the exception of a tremendously serious crisis. The letter of priests from the Spis area is not the church's standpoint, and I have understanding for their motive—to remind society of moral criteria. But they should not write such letters.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Is it because of our internal developments that the pope's visit to Slovakia has not yet been confirmed?

[Carnogursky] Definitely not. Let us remember that the Holy Father visited Nicaragua when the Sandinistas were in power there.

[NARODNA OBRODA] The HZDS chairman does not rule out the revision of election results through the reallocation of mandates. Is this a realistic option?

[Carnogursky] I am confident that he will not be successful. The consequence would not be just a demarche.

[NARODNA OBRODA] He has voiced objections even to your representatives in electoral commissions because they supposedly knew about preparation of the "electoral fraud" and could be made legally liable for it.

[Carnogursky] The HZDS does not have the political clout, in my opinion, to push through such steps.

Parliament Chairman Remarks on Minorities Problem

LD2911214994 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 29 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] We took advantage of the presence of [Parliament Chairman] Ivan Gasparovic to ask him for his latest view of the European Union demarche addressed to the Slovak Republic. Although the text has not yet been officially published, one of its sections talks about national minorities in Slovakia, particularly the position of the Hungarian minority.

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[Begin Gasparovic recording] Yes, it was quite surprising that the demarche touched on this problem because—and I would like to make this clear—from all of the recommendations Slovakia has received from the European institutions, we have complied with the one from the European Council. I do not see any reason that Slovakia should be pilloried for not dealing with nationality issues. Exactly the opposite is true. We are dealing with this issue, and I take the liberty of claiming that we have solved this issue. So, it was a little bit of a surprise that the demarche included it.

We answered the passage concerned with this immediately, pointing out that the Slovak Republic five months ago prepared the draft of a bilateral agreement, while our neighbors responded only recently. We do not find their answer and their proposal as constructive as we had assumed. We think we have to really intensify our talks about this agreement, but this is more or less a problem on the Hungarian side.

On the other hand, having gotten the recommendation to deal with this issue, we took the liberty of writing in response to the demarche that the Slovak Republic would welcome similar attention being paid to the position of the Slovak minority in Hungary. So that is what we wrote in our demarche to let the European Union know. [end recording] [passage omitted]

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Foreign Affairs Official on Joining NATO, EU

LD3011092994 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0800 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] According to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry's political state secretary, at the Essen summit of the EU [European Union] they will not be determining the schedule and conditions for joining. Istvan Szentivanyi said this to "Morning Chronicle" [program] after his return from Brussels, where he also conferred with leaders of the European Commission and NATO. The state secretary cannot see any advance being made in economic cooperation; however, he expects that they will reaffirm the political intention of wishing to expand the European Union.

Szentivanyi expounded before the leaders of the North Atlantic Alliance the Hungarian standpoint that the country's joining of NATO does not form a part of the bilateral Hungarian-Russian relations. The Brussels NATO center and the member countries will naturally consult about the issue with whomever they want. On the other hand, it is certain that Russia does not have a right of veto in regard to admission of members and has no zone of influence in Eastern Europe, the state secretary at the Foreign Ministry said.

No Pressure From Russia for Talks on NATO

LD2911130994 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 29 Nov 94

[Report by correspondent Istvan Kulcsar]

[FBIS Translated Text] Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs received BIE [Bureau of International Expositions] President Ole Philipson this morning and briefed him on parliament's decision to cancel the 1996 Expo. The decision was also signed by the president of the republic. Kovacs stressed that the decision was made for financial reasons.

His guest pointed out that the BIE regrets the decision, but that it understands and accepts it, the spokesman said.

In answer to a question, Foreign Ministry spokesman Gabor Szentivanyi said he thought it possible that Yasir 'Arafat and Yitzhaq Rabin would attend the coming conference of the Socialist International in Budapest.

Answering a question from Hungarian radio, Gabor Szentivanyi firmly denied Polish press reports that Moscow was pressuring Budapest so that the Hungarian Government would consult the Russian Government about its future entry into NATO. At the same time the foreign affairs spokesman noted that the method of clarifying disputed issues through negotiations suits the Hungarian Government, but that means only a willingness because there have been no concrete mention of any talks.

The Russian Government has never officially expressed its anxiety about a possible NATO entry. A Russian [word indistinct] in the matter is out of question, the Hungarian foreign affairs spokesman pointed out.

Foreign Minister on Negotiations With Romanians

LD2911160494 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1500 GMT 29 Nov 94

[Correspondent Andras Kerekes report from Parliament]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [passage omitted] Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs said in reply to a question from Miklos Csapody, parliamentary deputy of the Hungarian Democratic Forum: The Hungarian Government is interested in continuing talks with Romania on concluding the basic treaty, in spite of the fact that the Romanian Parliament has passed a law banning the singing of another country's national anthem and the use of another country's flag. The foreign minister reminded the deputies that this Romanian law must also be approved by the Romanian Senate. Furthermore, the Hungarian Government intends to take a position on the matter when in possession of the complete text. The most important issue is that the national minorities' rights should be included in the basic treaty because it will become a part of Romanian internal legislation, too.

The deputy who asked the question did not accept the answer. However, two-thirds of the deputies agreed with Laszlo Kovacs.

Kuncze Views Coalition 'Coordination' Problems

AU3011075494 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 26 Nov 94 p 7

[Interview with Hungarian Deputy Prime Minister Gabor Kuncze by Noemi Sumegi; place and date not given: "The Debates Should End Urgently"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the coalition coordination talks held at the beginning of this week, the sides failed to agree on most issues, including "new issues" such as the evaluation of the news programs of Hungarian Television. In addition, previous conflicts persisted, such as the latest misinformation issue. We asked coalition Deputy Prime Minister Gabor Kuncze about the background to these debates.

[Sumegi] Now that the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] has declared that the politicians of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] do not show a similar self-restraint to MSZP politicians, are you even more cautious about making statements?

[Kuncze] It is useless to discuss who shows self-restraint on various issues. The debates that hit the public originate from the fact that some people act and make statements contrary to the coalition agreement. We

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could argue a lot on who shows self-restraint and who does not, and I really want to avoid such arguments on essential issues.

[Sumegi] Do you think that the MSZP makes statements that differ from the coalition agreement while the SZDSZ only reacts to these statements?

[Kuncze] There have been arguments lately on a long list of issues, like the property tax, the media law, the privatization law, the incompatibility rules, youth affairs, and so on, and everyone can decide who played what role here and showed what self-restraint.

[Sumegi] Why has this issue become so important now that it has also appeared in the agenda of the Coalition Coordination Council?

[Kuncze] I am reluctant to discuss the various intentions openly, but I think that we are now facing a problem, namely that the larger coalition party did not consider thoroughly enough that it was asking the SZDSZ to govern jointly, and this also means joint responsibility. If the SZDSZ takes its coalition responsibility seriously, it cannot give up its principles, and it must represent its own position on the issues in question. One should not be surprised at this.

[Sumegi] When you said a few months ago that the coalition was improving, did you imagine that the two parties would still be improving, or even bruising, after six months?

[Kuncze] In my opinion, the coalition is not being polished or bruised. Important issues are on the agenda of the parliament today, and the government parties agree on the main aspects of these issues. The coalition is functioning and, therefore, I also find it impossible to understand why issues that I often regard as insignificant receive such publicity, making society feel as if a strong confrontation were prevailing here. The many small issues are poisoning the atmosphere among the coalition partners.

[Sumegi] Does this mean that you do not agree with those who claim that the coalition is now in its biggest crisis since its inception?

[Kuncze] No. It is the task of the Coordination Council to discuss the matter. We should urgently put an end to these debates, and I consider most of these debates to be sham-debates.

[Sumegi] If you do not understand why these debates seem to be so important, who should? Who could be interested in constantly keeping these issues public?

[Kuncze] One should not think of premeditated intentions or goals here. The simple fact is that some issues are made public without being coordinated in advance by the coalition partners. A good example of this is the youth policy coordination council that the government is preparing to set up. One can accept that a special organization should deal with this matter. This could have been coordinated; instead, a surprise proposal arrived completely out of the blue, which had not been coordinated with the SZDSZ. We indicated that there was no agreement on this issue and, instead of negotiating, a debate started in the press, in the course of which several outside players also made statements and, thus, a non-existent issue became an affair.

[Sumegi] Is this the result of clumsiness or could something else be in the background, such as the need to fulfill the demands of certain interest groups before the elections?

[Kuncze] First of all, we should coordinate in such a way as to avoid such debates. It is another matter that various lobbies are trying to exercise pressure from various directions and, in my opinion, we should generally refrain from allowing this to occur. Of course, there might be cases in which such lobbying is worthwhile, but the partners should coordinate these steps. Joint government responsibility also means that the partners show the utmost good will in trying to achieve harmonious cooperation.

[Sumegi] That means that ill will could also be behind these debates?

[Kuncze] I repeat: I see the coordination mechanism as the source of the problem.

[Sumegi] You have reached the "top" this week: You have failed to agree on four subjects out of the five discussed. In addition to coordination difficulties, where should one seek the deeper roots of the problem? In the activity of the coalition or the government? In carrying out the government program? Or in the ministry apparatuses?

[Kuncze] The SZDSZ is not even considering whether or not the coalition should remain. Nor do I think that these debates reflect disturbances in government activity, because these issues have not yet been submitted to the government. If we accept that the government acts according to the government's program, I will say that the mistakes should not be sought in the government's program. I must say again that we must create order in the coalition coordination.

[Sumegi] You have not mentioned the ministry apparatuses that "survived" the Democratic Forum government and, according to many people, are affiliated to the MSZP.

[Kuncze] I know the Interior Ministry apparatus. I do not think it is affiliated with any political party or is interested in supporting any party. The Interior Ministry apparatus is adequately prepared to carry out its tasks and fulfill government expectations under adequate political control. Of course, it is another matter how "smooth" an apparatus is, how professional or unprofessional it is, and it is also worth wondering about the extent to which the personnel are financially remunerated and about changes that have taken place in the past

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four years. And this applies to other ministries too. In view of this, one may really ask how much these apparatuses fulfill their requirements, but quick changes cannot be made here. However, it would be an exaggeration to blame these apparatuses for the disturbances in coalition cooperation. If they function badly, measures should be taken to make them function properly, and this irrespective of relations between the coalition partners.

[Sumegi] To what extent can the election campaign be blamed for these debates?

[Kuncze] Naturally, the coalition parties try to project their own image, in addition to striving for maximum cooperation. It is strange to connect all this to the campaign because nothing that is happening now contributes to the coalition parties at all; it is definitely harmful for the campaign.

[Sumegi] Everyone agrees that Gyorgy Janosi's, resigned state secretary, case is not about financing education. In your opinion, what is behind all this? Is it a personal conflict? A "struggle" between the SZDSZ and the MSZP?

[Kuncze] The prime minister made a totally unfounded declaration based on misinformation. Gyorgy Janosi accepted the responsibility, although the responsibility lies with all three protagonists in the case. It would have been more correct to clarify the case jointly to the public. Gyorgy Janosi later justified his resignation by claiming that he is unable to carry out his professional concept, but the starting point was that the prime minister was misled. I will not engage in dissecting the background; if there is such a thing, the protagonists should discuss it.

[Sumegi] It is interesting that no heads have rolled after the various statements made so far.

[Kuncze] It is a major issue when someone misleads the teachers in a country. It is a customary thing in a democracy to see Gyorgy Janosi accepting responsibility and resigning his post. Everyone is surprised at this now. Instead, everyone should be surprised if someone fails to accept responsibility. The lesson to be drawn from this case is that the government's teamwork needs improvement.

[Sumegi] The Education Ministry was a critical ministry in the previous cabinet too, and it is easy to find weak points in its activity. Have you been prepared to see attacks on Education Minister Gabor Fodor?

[Kuncze] Every ministry faces outside attacks, because the various areas within their jurisdiction do not receive the support that they expect simply because of the state of this country. Except for this mistake involving 10 billion forints, there was no other attack directed against the Education Ministry. Only the misinformation issue blew up the whole case. I think Gabor Fodor is capable of carrying out his duty and the ministry continues to function. Many people misinterpret the youth policy issue: The ministries' sphere of authority remains the same, and the Coordination Council will only coordinate the activity of individual ministries.

[Sumegi] Am I correct in understanding that the SZDSZ agrees with the need to set up this committee?

[Kuncze] We did not agree with the original proposal. If a modified version is prepared according to our expectations, the SZDSZ will be able to accept it.

[Sumegi] Is it possible that the root of the problem is that the Education Ministry—which controls the media, relations with the church, education, and youth affairs—was the subject of debate even during the coalition talks, and the SZDSZ did not receive "the whole" of this ministry?

[Kuncze] There was a debate about the justice, industry, and environmental protection ministries as well. The original concept of the SZDSZ was to avoid mixed ministries and to make the coalition partners clearly responsible for their ministries. We thought that cooperation between an SZDSZ minister and an MSZP state secretary would lead to useless arguments within the government, and the latest developments are proving this. But I do not blame this decision for all this.

[Sumegi] By accepting Gyorgy Janosi's resignation, the prime minister did not contribute to the easing of the coalition debates.

[Kuncze] Gyorgy Janosi stuck to his decision, so one cannot force a state secretary to continue his job against his will. The prime minister had to accept the resignation, and one should not think of any wrongful intent behind this. According to the coalition agreement, the partners must come to an agreement on the issue of state secretaries, so the MSZP will most probably propose a political state secretary also acceptable to the SZDSZ.

[Sumegi] An interesting political rumor began recently, namely that there are signs that the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP] is striving to play the role of a coalition partner or to get the Education Ministry.

[Kuncze] I do not think that the KDNP has such political ambitions, but some KDNP leaders indeed made some statements that can be at least misinterpreted. I am following this dance with interest, but I do not attribute any great importance to it.

[Sumegi] There is also talk of imminent changes in the present government, which has been in office for about 200 days; the time for the "test team" is over.

[Kuncze] We have not yet reached the stage of being able to tell you what the prime minister thinks, because we have not yet discussed these issues.

[Sumegi] Nevertheless, one can feel in the air that the personnel changes at the lower levels might be precursors of more important changes.

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[Kuncze] I do not get information on such matters from the air; instead, I wait until we discuss the matter. This issue is not on the agenda at the moment.

Economic Prognosis Sees 'Start of Modest Growth'

AU2911181894 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 29 Nov 94 p 17

[Unattributed article: "Productivity Is Improving"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The economic prognosis of the Economic Research Institute Ltd. and Postabank Ltd. is published every month. In addition to the macro-financial data that continue to be negative, we are now offering our readers the changes reflecting the growth in the real economy.

In the course of 1994, one can see an increasingly marked dual development in the economy: On the one hand, there has been a halt in the falling economic performance that had been going on for the last four years and the start of modest growth; on the other hand, the deterioration in the domestic and foreign economic balance that began in 1993 has stubbornly persisted and is even becoming worse.

Almost all sectors of the economy—and mainly the construction industry, industry, and agriculture—are slowly reaching the performance level where the deterioration began. GDP will increase by at least 2 percent. The population's consumption will increase slightly, and accumulation [felhalmozas] will increase more rapidly, while communal consumption will decrease. Domestic consumption will largely remain the same as that prevailing in 1993.

Exports are increasing dynamically, compared with the rather low level of 1993, and industrial exports are increasing much more rapidly than domestic industrial sales. At the same time, after the considerable increase in 1993, imports increased even more rapidly than exports in the first nine months of 1994.

So far in 1994, the flow of working capital into Hungary has been similar to that over the same period of last year. This year, however, we cannot expect a one-time large influx in the last quarter of 1994 like that originating from the privatization of the Matav Company last year; therefore, the inflow of capital will barely exceed half of that of 1993. By the end of 1994, Hungary's net foreign debt will exceed $19 billion. But because of the large hard currency reserves, sufficient for financing imports for some six months, Hungary is in no danger of insolvency.

Despite the supplementary budget, our budget deficit will be above the level planned; however, although savings will be 1.5 times more than in 1993, it will not be sufficient to finance the budget deficit. Therefore, budget financing needs to take further sources away from the business sector.

Inflation is increasing but it will be somewhat lower than predicted because of the delay in the planned tax and price increases.

The number of registered unemployed is slowly decreasing. Productivity is improving considerably and the economy's specific energy needs are decreasing.

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Olechowski Welcomes Kohl Invitation to Summit

LD3011122594 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1100 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] At a news conference in Bonn, Chancellor Helmut Kohl confirmed an invitation to Poland and the other Visegrad Group countries to take part in the EU [European Union] summit in Essen next week. AFP reports that the heads of government of Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Hungary are to take part in the final session of the two-day EU summit and in the luncheon for the participants. One of the subjects of the Essen meeting will be the strategy for Central Europe, which is to facilitate the integration of associated countries within the EU and to prepare them for membership.

Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski has said that the meeting in Essen will start the practical integration of the Central European countries within the EU.

According to Minister Olechowski, the document that will be signed by the heads of the 12 in Essen will contain important guidelines for our integration into the EU.

[Begin Olechowski recording] One must not underestimate the significance of this document. However, this is the first document that outlines a plan for the path to membership of the associated countries. [end recording]

The minister said that December is a month of important conferences. Next week in Budapest, the CSCE leaders will discuss the consolidation of this institution, which is in the interest of our country. In Brussels tomorrow, representatives of NATO countries will meet to establish the steps that need to be taken in order to extend the treaty to the East. Specific talks with Poland on the date of our country's joining NATO will most probably be held in the second half of next year.

Company With 'Ties' to Pawlak Declares Bankruptcy

WS2911151094 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 29 Nov 94 p 1

[Article by "(ard, dom, han)": "InterArms Goes Bankrupt; Pawlak Is Silent"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A court of law announced yesterday the bankruptcy of the InterArms II company, which used to provide computer equipment and software to state offices, including the Office of the Council of Ministers [URM]. The government concluded several contracts with InterArms II at a time when the company was already in financial trouble. The prime minister, whom the WPROST weekly has accused of having private ties to InterArms II, is silent on the matter.

The prime minister has been silent on this issue for months now. As early as March of this year, EXPRESS WIECZORNY reported that the company's president, Pawel Zdunek, was Prime Minister Pawlak's friend when they were students at the Polytechnic University. The daily reported that, despite the fact that InterArms II was in poor financial condition, it continued to receive lucrative contracts from such institutions as Bank Gospodarki Zywnosciowej, the Main Customs Office, the State Insurance Bureau, the National Bank of Poland, Polska Kasa Opieki Bank Panstwowy, the Social Security Agency, and Peasants' Social Insurance.

Official Directive

In the spring of 1994, URM tasked InterArms II with creating an electronic mail system. However, no formal tender was held.

"Jan Zagajewski, secretary of state in URM, informed me in writing that I should circumvent the tender procedure," we were told yesterday by Andrzej Florczyk, director of the URM Computerization Department. It is worth recalling that WPROST claims that Zagajewski is a relative of Anna M., one of the closest female aides to the prime minister. Pawlak knew her already when he was only the chairman of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL]. According to the Poznan weekly, she made a stunning career in the PSL and URM (where she got a job for Zagajewski) and then went to work with InterArms II.

However, Director Florczyk does not agree with the accusation that URM chose InterArms II as the provider of the equipment. "It was IBM Poland that presented this company to us as its representative."

InterArms II has been a loss-making company since the end of 1992. Why did the powerful IBM choose this company for its representative, especially when it wanted to implement such a prestigious contract as the one with URM? "We do not release any information on our trade partners," we learned yesterday from IBM Poland.

Why did URM Under Secretary of State Jan Zagajewski order that a tender not be held and that InterArms II be chosen? Zagajewski has not answered any of these questions.

Empty Account

A motion requesting the bankruptcy of InterArms II was submitted by the Poznan-based Supra company. InterArms II did not pay the company 460 million zlotys [Z] for computer equipment it received from the Poznan firm. President Zdunek also admitted at yesterday's trial that there is no money in the company's coffers or in its bank account; 90 percent of the company's assets have been pawned. He added that he guaranteed the company's debts with his personal property—a house worth several billion zlotys—and that he will now have nowhere to live.

InterArms II claims that the cause of the financial losses was the rapid devaluation of the zloty and increased competition. The company decided to secure bank credits. Right now their value, along with the interest, is

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approximately Z70 billion. However, Zdunek's company owes the most to IBM Poland—Z105.5 billion.

The legal decision on bankruptcy is not valid. The tax office has seized 11 cars belonging to the company. The evening "Wiadomosci" newscast reported that a prosecutor has been trying to find out whether Zdunek acted to the detriment of his company. However, no charges have been leveled against him yet.

Whose Move Is It Now?

"This is how one should react to such articles," said PSL's Janusz Piechocinski and Bogdan Pek, when asked about the charges leveled by the press. "First a prosecutor should begin legal proceedings and investigate the case of slandering the supreme organs of the state. If journalists prove that everything they have written is true, the prosecutor institutes legal proceedings against the offenders."

Justice Ministry Spokesman Andrzej Cubala does not agree with this. "The WPROST article does not contain any elements that would violate the criminal code. Therefore, the prosecutor general (Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz—editor's note) is not authorized to begin legal proceedings."

"If Waldemar Pawlak believes that his good reputation has been impugned, he can start legal proceedings himself on the basis of the civil code," Cubala says.

The Union of Labor [UP] suggested the same to the prime minister on 26 November. UP Leader Ryszard Bugaj also called upon Pawlak to invite the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK] to investigate URM. So far, the prime minister has not responded in public to the charges leveled against him by the press or to the appeal of UP.

When we were closing this issue of our daily, the Government's Press Office was not able to tell us whether the prime minister will invite NIK or whether he will sue WPROST.

In the meantime, NIK President Lech Kaczynski told us yesterday that he was seriously considering the possibility of controlling URM.

Commentary on Bankruptcy

WS3011091494 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 29 Nov 94 p 1

[Commentary by Bronislaw Wildstein: "Orders and Friends"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The bankruptcy of the InterArms company may have come as a real surprise. It was a company that could not complain about a lack of orders from the best possible customers. These customers were always solvent because they had our money, the taxpayers' money, at their disposal. Now we, through the State Treasury, are creditors of the bankrupt company.

The fact that InterArms always received a great portion of the government's computer orders has interested the press for a long time. What is more, the company's owner happened to be a personal friend of Prime Minister Pawlak. What interested the press was also the procedure in line with which the orders were distributed. It turned out that not only were the tender rules unclear but also sometimes there were no tenders held at all, as was the case in the multibillion [zloty] order to set up an electronic mail network in the Office of the Council of Ministers. As a result of press revelations concerning this issue, Sejm deputies have forwarded questions to the prime minister. However, the prime minister is consistently silent.

All the government's orders were to no avail. The company owned by the prime minister's friend went bankrupt. However, the question remains: How did it manage to stun government civil servants? One more thing that remains are the bills for orders that have not been filled.

Meanwhile, it turns out that the law on public orders, which was to regulate such issues as these and which will come into force at the beginning of next year, will not be able to operate. Even though he was obliged by law to appoint a head of the Office for Public Orders as early as July and, despite the fact that Sejm deputies kept urging him to do this, the prime minister has not yet performed his duty.

Daily Suggests RdR May Be 'Swallowed' by ZChN

WS2911153494 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 29 Nov 94 p 2

[Article by Piotr Zaremba: "RdR Will Join ZChN; One Less Rightist Party"]

[FBIS Translated Text] We learned unofficially that Szeremietiew's Movement for the Republic [RdR] will join the Christian-National Union [ZChN]. It is possible that the ZChN will also want to swallow the Peasant Accord [PL]. In this way, the ZChN might dominate the Covenant for Poland [PdP].

"I do not confirm this," said ZChN Acting Chairman Ryszard Czarnecki, when asked whether the RdR will join his party. "It is certain that on Tuesday we will make the most important step in the direction of uniting the right wing."

The decision must have been made quite suddenly. As recently as Friday, the politicians of the ZChN and the RdR criticized the plan of uniting the rightist parties, presented by Center Accord [PC] Chairman Jaroslaw Kaczynski, and supported maintaining the separate characters of the rightist groupings.

The small RdR will be swallowed by the ZChN and will lose its name. However, Romuald Szeremietiew recently lost the lawsuit over this name in favor of the other

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faction of the party, which is called "Jan Olszewski's RdR." What is more, if Szeremietiew's part ceased to exist, it might ease the tension in the rightist PdP. The PC and the Conservative Coalition do not want to sit at the same table with the RdR leader because he did not rule out the possibility of assuming the post of defense minister in the Pawlak Cabinet. Now he will represent the same grouping as ZChN leader Ryszard Czarnecki.

These activities are at the same time an alternative to Kaczynski's plan; the conflicts within the PdP are becoming increasingly acute. By rejecting the idea of dissolving the groupings that exist now, Czarnecki and Szeremietiew can boast a unification success. The Episcopate, which insists quite strongly that the right wing unite, is going to like it.

There is unofficial talk within the PdP that the PL, the fifth PdP party, may also follow in the footsteps of the RdR. "This party is a representative of a class, so this is rather impossible," we learned from a ZChN politician. If [PL Chairman] Gabriel Janowski's party were sucked in by the ZChN, Czarnecki's party would, formally at least, become the strongest party in the PdP. The success would be attributed to the party's leader, and it would help him at the congress in January.

Many rightist politicians believe that the ZChN is trying to push the PC to the margin by trying to reach an agreement with the Union for Real Poltics and the Party of Christian Democrats. At the same time, Szeremietiew and Janowski support Walesa. Thus, their presence in the ZChN might consolidate this camp.

Rightists Disagree on PC View of Unification

WS2811154794 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 28 Nov 94 p 2

[Article by Igor Zalewski and Piotr Zaremba: "Is the PdP Breaking Up? Rightist Leaders Did Not Become Reconciled"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Covenant for Poland [PdP] is disappearing. The parties that the PdP is made up of have not reached an agreement on the "Szeremietiew case." Center Accord [PC] Chairman Jaroslaw Kaczynski maintains a plan for establishing a united party of the right. The Christian-National Union [ZChN], the Movement for the Republic [RdR], and Peasant Accord [PL] distance themselves from this plan. It is possible that they will try to integrate the right without the PC.

The parties that make up the rightist PdP have failed to reach an agreement. On the same day, two separate press conferences were held. One was called by PC Chairman Jaroslaw Kaczynski and the other by the leaders of the ZChN, the PL, and the RdR.

Before noon, the heads of the four PdP parties (with the exception of RdR leader Romuald Szeremietiew) were to negotiate a compromise statement prepared by the PL. It concerned the dispute over Szeremietiew, with whom the PC and Kazimierz Ujazdowski's Conservative Coalition do not want to cooperate because he does not rule out the possibility of entering the Pawlak government (as a minister or a deputy minister of defense). The statement was to prohibit the members of the PdP parties from accepting high official posts under the present governing coalition.

However, ZChN leader Ryszard Czarnecki did not attend the meeting at all. PL Chairman Gabriel Janowski proposed, in turn, that the statement be less adamant. In such a situation, the negotiations were suspended for an indefinite period.

The 25 November issue of SZTANDAR quoted Szeremietiew as saying that he does not rule out the possibility of entering the Pawlak government because, as he said, "he knows a thing or two about the Army." He did not want to comment on this at the conference.

During his conference, Kaczynski recalled the plan for dissolving all of the rightist parties and establishing a common grouping. "We are ready to do this first," he said.

Two hours later, the leaders of the ZChN, the PL, and the RdR gave assurances that their conference was a demonstration supporting the PdP's unity. They also expressed support for integration of the groupings that are "to the right of the center." According to them, talks should be held in the PdP-11 November Accord-Solidarity triangle, and a "purely rightist candidate" should be selected. However, they are against the idea of fielding a candidate of the entire postsolidarity camp.

The PC leader recalled once again that he does not believe in the victory of such a "purely rightist" candidate and that he would prefer a broader agreement of the solidarity forces. "The most important issue is not to allow a postcommunist to assume this post. Once these forces get the presidency, it will be a long time before they give it back," he argued.

According to Szeremietiew, what should be done at the beginning is to reach an agreement on the method of selecting a candidate. "First, we must determine how, not who," the RdR leader said. He added that in this way the chances of this political undertaking will look better. According to Janowski, President Lech Walesa should also take part in the process of selecting his likely successor.

Ryszard Czarnecki said that the vision of uniting the right wing presented by Kaczynski was "intellectually interesting but not very realistic." According to him, forming a well-cooperating rightist coalition, as in France, for instance, is more realistic than setting up one party. "What is most important is one election list," Szeremietiew backed Czarnecki. "The SLD consists of a few dozen organizations as well," he emphasized.

Kaczynski does not rule out the possibility that the structures of the old groupings might be maintained for some time in the new united party. "However, this is the minimal variant," he says.

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Politicians of the right are saying off the record that the leaders of the ZChN, the PL, and the RdR would like to take over the name of the PdP and co-opt other parties into it. They would particularly want to co-opt the Union for Real Politics [UPR] and the Party of Christian Democrats, with which they have been holding advanced negotiations for some time now. This would be an implementation of the concept of uniting the right wing around the ZChN and UPR. The PC would not take part in the process, or its role would be marginal.

Former PC Secretary Wojciech Dobrzynski took part in the conference called by the ZChN, the PL, and the RdR. Politicians of the "three" unofficially introduced him as a representative of the "pragmatic policy within the PC."

Krzaklewski Introduces Constitutional Draft

95EP0010A Krakow TYGODNIK MALOPOLSKA in Polish No 33, 29 Sep 94 pp 1-2

[Statement by Marian Krzaklewski, chairman of the NSZZ Solidarity trade union, at the National Assembly on 22 September 1994: "Undertake the Cause of National Development"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Poland nowadays is regaining its identity. The changes taking place in Europe in recent years have enabled us to decide our own fate. Yet again we are undertaking the cause, interrupted 200 years ago, of normal national development, a cause undertaken by our fathers in 1918, when they built a proud and, for those times, modern state. The Second Republic had a short life, being destroyed by criminal ideologies that duped the neighboring countries, but the Second Republic was a truly independent Polish state and, in searching for our identity, we harken back to its legacy. Throughout the years of national enslavement, alien rule, terror, and oppression, the Polish nation preserved the heritage of its history and fostered and protected all that makes Poland Poland. Now that national freedom has been regained, the time has come to continue the cause of the centuries, the time for our own normal development as a nation, for building a modern state, a modern economy, a modern society—modern also through the preservation of continuity with tradition. The foundation, the cardinal principle of this building, will be the new constitution of the Republic. The constitution will delimit for years ahead the legal framework of the functioning of the state and the development of the nation. The constitution cannot be fortuitous nor should it mirror current political alignments because it should be a lasting work of the nation. The constitution must be based on an axiological foundation, on a particular vision of the individual and the community.

The Independent Self-Governing Trade Union (NSZZ) Solidarity undertook the mission of promoting the civic draft of the constitution of the Polish Republic. That is a draft of a much broader scope, addressed not just to NSZZ members. It has therefore even now received the support of more than 1,300,000 signatures of Poles because the public views it as a draft of an Independent Poland, of that Poland that refuses to accept the devastation wrought by communism in our national life, of that Poland that is relying on the national heritage as a foundation for creating a most up-to-date present and future.

The work on the draft prepared by the Public Constitutional Committee was done with the participation of many eminent jurists, constitutional experts, specialists in various domains of knowledge, and practitioners of public life. The premises of the draft were continuously consulted upon with experts, opinionmaking milieux, and various social and interest groups. To us, the opinion of the experts collaborating with the Polish Episcopate was particularly important. Consultations with the structures of our trade union also were continuous and broad. The drive to collect signatures for the draft united many Poles, to which it became a symbol and an opportunity for a reconstruction based on loftiest Polish traditions. In this place, I would like to express my cordial thanks to all of the people and institutions contributing to the preparation of the civic draft of the constitution and to collecting more than a million signatures in its support, as well as to all those who supported this draft with their signatures.

The civic draft of the constitution is deeply rooted in the values constituting the foundation of the Polish world outlook. These values are an integral whole, complementing and enriching each other. If some of these values are missing, the remaining ones are incomplete and endangered. The three principal values on which the work on the draft was based are:

1. Christian values, as reflected in the primacy of the individual, in the ramified rights of man and family, in basing institutional solutions on the principles of Catholic social teachings.

2. Patriotic and national values, as reflected in attachment to Polish traditions and in institutional approaches safeguarding national sovereignty and the primacy of citizens as individuals.

3. Social values, as reflected in social rights and in a system of society based on dialogue among and solidarity of social partners.

The fact that the draft is based on the Christian view of the individual and the community does not and may not mean that this should be a constitution solely for believing citizens. On the contrary, we interpret Christian values as being the most humanist and open, as providing the foundation for an authentic democracy and underlying the natural and inalienable rights of man.

The draft's preamble points to the tradition we want to continue. Most other drafts of the constitution lack such a preamble at all, yet it is essential because it stresses the historical continuity of the nation and the political and legal continuity of the independent Polish State. The

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preamble defines the traditions the Polish nation views as its own and wants to continue. Former Polish Constitutions, the Constitution of 3 May and the March [1921] Constitution, contained lofty preambles. We would like the constitution of the Third Republic to refer to them.

The guiding principles contained in Chapter I serve to interpret and apply the provisions of the constitution. They also define the concepts of the nation and the state as well as the underlying principles of the system of society. Supreme power in the state belongs to the nation. The nation is construed as a community bound together by a common history, culture, and language. Such a definition makes the nation open to all those who want to identify themselves with that community and participate therein. "The Polish State is a republic, a democratic and law-ruled state and the commonweal of all citizens." Such a provision defines the state as not only the guarantor and regulator of established laws but also a bearer of weighty moral values. Nowadays the fundamental purpose of a modern democratic state is the protection and implementation of the basic rights of man and citizen. That is why these rights rank foremost in the presented draft of the constitution. The chapter devoted to them deliberately precedes the chapters dealing with the political and legal system of society, serving as their axiological foundation. The draft considers labor to be the foundation for the development of the state. This is a direct reference to the last constitution of the independent Polish Republic, and it is related to the definition of the economy based on freedom and solidarity as a market economy with clearly accented elements of social dialogue and participation.

The relative specificity of the provisions dealing with the rights of man ensues from the need to provide legal safeguards of these rights, after years of their unceremonious violations, and inscribe them in the supreme law of the land such as the constitution is. This also ensues from the international conventions signed by Poland, including the ILO [International Labor Organization] convention. The authors of the draft were concerned about couching its provisions in such language as would make them amenable to direct application instead of being a collection of wishes, recommendations, and suggestions addressed to the lawgivers. Social rights may not be omitted in the constitution, although the related provisions are more difficult to formulate than those dealing with personal liberties because translating them into reality requires proactivism. The state bears the responsibility for providing the conditions for the maximum implementation of all rights, including social ones. They all derive from human nature and belong to man by reason of human dignity. As such, they must be included in the supreme law of the land, representing an obligation of the state, even if translating them into reality more fully takes time. Public opinion expects this of us. The constitution of the Republic must contain as a prerequisite safeguards for the protection of human life from its inception until natural death. In any situation, human life must be protected at any price. This is something that all of the major political forces in Poland agree about, except that they interpret this obligation differently.

The provision dealing with openness of public life provides for the lustration (vetting) of civil servants as a permanent principle. Such people make decisions affecting us all. As such, they must be above suspicion. This practice is followed in every country that views its sovereignty seriously.

A major aspect of the draft is the chapter dealing with sources of law, which is missing in the previous constitutions. It contains an explicit provision specifying the direct applicability of constitutional provisions.

The concept of supreme power in the state was so interpreted by the authors of the draft as to achieve the following objectives:

1. Preservation and development of democratic purposes of the state. The adopted solutions are to accomplish this through mechanisms stimulating the rise and growth of organized social forces, without which democratic laws become fiction, as well as through mechanisms providing safeguards against the introduction of a dictatorship or an authoritarian government.

2. Operating efficiency of institutions of the state, which is accomplished through an explicit separation of powers among the different branches of the government as well as through a simultaneous strengthening of legislative, executive, and judicial powers.

3. Adaptation of planned institutions to Polish traditions, possibilities, and social expectations. To this end, many individuals and constituencies familiar with the operating modes of present-day institutions in Poland were consulted.

Legislative power consists of the Sejm and the Senate. The Sejm is a more political chamber, in which room should be found for representations of organized social forces. At least two-thirds of the deputies are to be elected as local candidates. This solution makes for a closer link between the deputies and their constituents because voters are familiar with and judge particular individuals representing their voting districts. Moreover, in the long run, this solution strengthens the political parties themselves because it makes them dependent on the social base of support.

The draft proposes a completely new model of the Senate, conceiving it as the chamber standing on guard over rights, monitoring the legislative process, and overseeing control institutions. Under the adopted premises, the Senate should consist not so much of representatives of parties as of people with considerable competence, experience, and social authority. All senators are elected in accordance with the majority system.

The proposed solution concerning the passage of the budget is also original. It makes allowance for the need

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for the broad acceptance and consensus of major social groups whose vital interests are affected by the budget. This is in accordance with the idea of partnership democracy, under which social groups can participate in resolving problems of importance to them. The budget is the sole law not to be presented to the Senate. On the other hand, it is mandatory for the government to present the budget law before submitting it for a vote, for an evaluation by a trilateral committee consisting of representatives of employers, employees, and the government. The final decision is made by the Sejm, a legislative body elected by the general citizenry.

The authors of the draft tried to maintain the proper proportions among the Sejm, the Senate, the president, the government, the courts, and the control institutions by clearly separating their powers. This applies in particular to the difficult problem of the relationship between the president and the government.

The role of the president, elected in a general election, will be a new one. His vested powers will enable him to act as an arbiter between the government and the Sejm and to exercise oversight duties. Thus, the president would not only be a representative of the state but also play a stabilizing role. The overall responsibility for the government rests on the prime minister. The prime minister's standing vis-a-vis the president and the government is strengthened. A strong prime minister who translates into reality the principle of one-person responsibility is at the same time dependent on the parliament. Thus, parliamentary elections exert a decisive effect on political power in Poland, which promotes the rise of a political representation of the society.

An important place in the system of society of the independent Republic is occupied by local governments. The draft devotes to them a separate chapter, on adopting solutions proposed by local-government constituencies.

The chapter on public finance establishes the institution of the State Treasury and its overseer, the Office of the State Attorney.

Judicial power is strengthened and made independent. The powers of the Tribunal of State, an institution currently of a political nature, shall be transferred to the Supreme Court. An exception is a special tribunal for impeaching the president, inasmuch as the president appoints the justices of the Supreme Court and cannot be judged by them. The Constitutional Tribunal will undergo a similar depoliticization, with one-half of its justices to be appointed by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court on the basis of a resolution of the General Assembly of Justices of the Supreme Court. Establishing a genuine authority of judges and a lasting system of the administration of justice requires settling accounts with the inglorious past, when courts were the political instruments of communist rulers. Therefore, we decided to incorporate in the prefatory provisions the requirement of vetting judges from the standpoint of their adherence to the principle of judicial independence. This is to be a one-time act, settling this issue once and for all.

The draft also provides for different terms of office of various control institutions in order to maintain continuity of control in the state.

A major element of this civic draft of the constitution is the chapter dealing with prefatory provisions. Most of the constitution's chapters concern permanent solutions to have the force of law for years. But their enforcement would first require extensive changes in the structure of the Republic. The prefatory provisions therefore prepare such changes. This concerns, among other things, the establishment of courts of cassation, the vetting of judges, the establishment of the institution of the examining magistrate, the reform of health insurance and social insurance, the solution of the privatization problem, the conduct of universal property empowerment as part of the privatization of state property, the restitution of Polish citizenship, the access of concerned individuals to their records in the archives of PRL [Polish People's Republic] special services, the establishment of the Press Council, with the object of averting a monopoly and protecting the right to information, and the evaluation by the Constitutional Tribunal of PRL international agreements from the standpoint of their consonance with the constitution. These provisions afford the premises for a normally operating state and free our nation from the previous system of society.

The draft promoted by NSZZ Solidarity [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union "Solidarity"] has gained particularly broad documented public support, sufficient for it to become an alternative to the draft of the Constitutional Committee. We are ready to engage in public debate on any provision of our draft. What is more, we believe that such a debate is indispensable. The society must be prepared to make such a vital choice and afforded the possibility of that choice. In the name of the million Poles who, by placing their signatures under the civic draft of the constitution of the Polish Republic, authorized me to act as their spokesman, I appeal to you, ladies and gentlemen, gathered in this auditorium, to once more analyze the procedure for the passage of the constitution on bearing in mind the responsibility you shoulder and to share this responsibility with the nation. Let us trust our nation; it is a wise nation.

We would like the constitutional draft presented by us to be considered as a whole because it is not just a legislative proposal made by experts or by a political group. It is something more. It reflects the aspirations of the most important Polish social movement in recent years. The draft of the constitution of the Polish Republic, supported by broad segments of Polish society and promoted by NSZZ Solidarity, is the culmination of the cause initiated in August 1980, the cause of restoring independence to our Fatherland, the cause of restoring the faith that we are indeed the bosses in our own

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country, the cause of rebuilding a normal, free society, a law-ruled state, and a healthy economy. We would like the new constitution to become the embodiment of the appeal made by the Holy Father on the Blonie in Krakow, when departing this country after his first visit as a pope in 1979: "I ask you to receive once more with faith, hope, and love that spiritual legacy called Poland."

Bishop Said To Host Meetings on Army Issues

MM2911153694 Wroclaw SLOWO POLSKIE in Polish 16 Nov 94 p 5

[Article by Tomasz Bagnowski: "Whose Health Do Soldiers Toast? Some Claim Bishop Runs the Army"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After the recalling of Piotr Kolodziejczyk from the office of national defense minister, his chief opponents remain in their posts. They are Chief of General Staff General Tadeusz Wilecki and his closest associates.

The conclusions of the Sejm subcommission set up to investigate the conflict in the National Defense Ministry [MON] following the by now celebrated luncheon at Drawsko do not, as it seems, break any new ground. There has been talk for many months about the need to speed up work on new legislation (that is, the powers act, which is supposed to define unequivocally the relationship between the civilian and the military as well as the president's powers). Nor do the recommendations that the MON budget be increased bring anything new into the picture. Apart from formulating these suggestions and criticizing the actions of the president, the General Staff, and Minister Kolodziejczyk himself, the subcommission did not, in effect, draw up any specific proposals for solving the conflict taking place between the principal figures in the Armed Forces. It would have stretched the limits of credibility to imagine that Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk could still enjoy appropriate respect throughout the Armed Forces considering that, even after the subcommission's investigation was concluded, the president declared openly that he had lost his trust in that particular minister and that he would maintain his appeal to him to resign.

Not only did the president announce that he would not be meeting with Kolodziejczyk anymore but he also refused to endorse the nominations for the officers from the MON civilian division whom Kolodziejczyk intended to promote to the rank of general. On the other hand, he did sign all of the nominations proposed by Gen. Wilecki. This was Walesa's first move of such spectacular public character since the Drawsko conflict, and it indicated explicitly that he was determined to do all he could to undermine Kolodziejczyk's position as defense minister. In such a situation, it was unrealistic to expect that the Sejm Defense Commission's recommendation that all involved should muster enough determination to cooperate harmoniously in order to solve the country's defense problems would be put into practice.

At the same time, during the Drawsko subcommission sessions, deputies got hold of documents that presented a clear and thorough analysis of the conflict situation within MON, whose origins are to be found much further back than the ill-fated luncheon at Drawsko.

The Bishop's Tea Parties

The Sejm subcommission was unsuccessful in its attempts to persuade Field Bishop Leszek Slawoj Glodz to submit a statement. However, his name was mentioned on many occasions in the statements submitted by other MON representatives.

According to Piotr Kolodziejczyk, it is precisely at Bishop Glodz's that the topmost MON leadership figures discuss all of the most important problems concerning the sector. Meetings hosted by the bishop take place once a week in Warsaw, at premises belonging to the field cathedral. Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak was guest at these gatherings at least twice, and Minister Mieczyslaw Wachowski [head of the president's office] is a regular attendee. Kolodziejczyk testified before the Sejm subcommittee that it is precisely in that setting, while coffee and drinks are being served in a relaxed atmosphere, that the host and his guests develop concepts of reforming the Armed Forces in a way that would render them subordinate to the president.

The testimony submitted by Piotr Kolodziejczyk and Deputy Defense Minister Danuta Waniek suggests that the entire General Staff is also a structure hostile to civilian command of MON.

For example, Kolodziejczyk demanded to no avail that Gen. Wilecki take disciplinary action against Janusz Ornatowski, chief of staff of the Lower Silesia Military District, who strongly criticized his superior in a letter addressed to the president, Sejm and Senate speakers, and even Kolodziejczyk himself, and who also recommended that the powers of the General Staff be significantly extended.

According to Kolodziejczyk, since last July, Wilecki has also failed to reply to appeals to hand over the MON Warsaw Conference Center as well as two recreation centers. In addition, when describing relations in the Armed Forces, Danuta Waniek disclosed that those taking part in military training ground exercises most often toast the health of President Walesa, while Minister Kolodziejczyk is not even invited to official military celebrations.

The majority of Sejm deputies do not doubt that the vote taken by the General Staff officers for or against the minister was inadmissible. This is not to say, however, that that particular minister is good, whereas all of the others are bad. For example, Gen. Wilecki testified before the subcommission that Kolodziejczyk became active as his superior only in September of this year. Before that, according to Wilecki as well as other generals, he took no interest in either the standard of the

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soldiers' armament or their economic situation. "The General Staff worked on its own, and Kolodziejczyk spent his time mostly abroad," Wilecki said, adding that, since last September, the MON chief had not organized any personnel briefings for officers. In addition, Wilecki's deputy, General Leon Komornicki, said that he had not been entrusted with any tasks for a year and that the last time he visited the ministry was when Janusz Onyszkiewicz was defense minister.

Armed Forces Keep Arm's Length From Politics

The above is the unanimous declaration of all of the generals investigated by the subcommission. However, in the light of facts, things look slightly different.

After the Drawsko crisis, a questionnaire containing purely political questions was circulated among the officers. We managed to obtain unofficial information that the questionnaire asked officers which side they favored in the dispute over the Armed Forces' subordination: the president or the civilian MON leadership. The soldiers were also asked who should assume command over the Army: the General Staff or the ministry. It is quite hard to ascertain who circulated these questionnaires. This is because the document is so secret that, apart from Deputy Jerzy Szmajdzinski, chairman of the Sejm Defense Commission (Democratic Left Alliance), no deputies have any idea who signed it.

No one with any sense would at present undertake to predict the further functioning of the defense sector. But it would without doubt be a pity if the chance for closer cooperation with NATO countries that is just beginning to look possible or the recently passed Brown Amendment, giving us access to U.S. weapon surpluses, failed to be taken up as a result of politicians' irresponsible actions. After all, there are enough pretexts as it is to suspend the work on our accession to NATO.

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Mitrea on Problems of Trade Union Movement

AU2811211494 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 23 Nov 94 p 2

[Interview with Miron Mitrea, president of the Social Solidarity Party and former cochairman of the National Council of Free Trade Unions of Romania (CNSRL)-Fratia, by Razvan Popa; place and date not given: "The Leaders' Vanity Prevented the Unification of the Trade Union Movement"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Popa] Miron Mitrea, now that you can view the trade union movement from the "outside," would you be so kind as to tell us what that is new the movement managed to bring to Romania during its five years of existence?

[Mitrea] First of all, the trade union movement managed to create a civilized society. Second, the movement was a driving force for the government's adopting certain decisions in favor of the transition to a market economy. Third, the movement served as a kind of watchman, a watchman who obviously missed quite a few things but also discovered many irregularities. [passage omitted] Likewise, another extremely important achievement is that the trade union movement managed to negotiate collective labor contracts both at the national-federal level and at the level of the enterprises. Therefore, it did its duty as much as possible. Nevertheless, the trade unions also had many failures. We did not manage to ensure the passing of legislation that we liked, and we did not manage to negotiate the kind of contracts we would have liked. However, the important thing is that the trade unionists' work will never end. They will continue to do their job. [passage omitted]

[Popa] What made you enter politics and reactivate the much-contested (by some people) Social Solidarity Party [PSS]?

[Mitrea] I entered politics for various reasons both objective and subjective. The trade union movement deals with a somewhat limited range of problems. It is extremely difficult to establish and follow a medium-term strategy, let alone a long-term strategy. [passage omitted] Therefore, I felt somewhat hampered and decided to continue my activity in politics. I am a convinced social-democrat and I believe that I can make a contribution to building a strong social-democratic pole in Romania. That is why I also chose the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR] as an ally, so as to consolidate this pole. The much-damned PSS was activated out of a desire to establish a political grouping with new people who can bring something new to the political scene. I am convinced that bringing new people in the PDSR will have a salutary effect, in line with the theory that an influx of new people always gives an organization greater impetus. [passage omitted]

[Popa] Your party has already merged with the PDSR. Why this fusion? Would it not have been simpler for your members to register directly with the PDSR?

[Mitrea] This is a strange question. Of course, it might have been simpler, but the PSS members did not want to join the PDSR as individuals but rather as a trend representing an organization with clear ideas that is attempting to bring the social-democratic doctrine to a social class consisting of employees, businessmen, and small landowners. I believe that this is the best solution.

[Popa] What were the major mistakes of the trade union movement in this period?

[Mitrea] The biggest mistake was that the vanity of the leaders prevented the unification of the trade union movement. The second mistake is that we did not succeed in agreeing on a modern approach to the trade union struggle. I am referring to the pressure from the bottom-up—that is, from the employees to the leaders. These are the greatest mistakes that I can charge the trade union movement with—including myself, because I did not manage to overcome them either.

Defense Minister Concludes Visit to South Africa

AU2911090694 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 25 Nov 94 p 2

[Article by Christian Levant: "Gheorghe Tinca, Minister of National Defense, Would Like To Cooperate With South Africa in Aviation, Armored Cars, and Simulators"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Gheorghe Tinca, minister of national defense, returned to Bucharest yesterday at 1635 local time [1435 GMT]. He was coming from South Africa via Zurich. The minister was welcomed at Otopeni Airport by the chief of staff and by the ambassador of the Republic of South Africa to Bucharest.

Tinca made the following exclusive statement for EVENIMENTUL ZILEI: "I did not go there to sell or buy armaments. We have a defense industry that must be brought out of its cave through cooperation with developed industries. Only after that can we talk about exports. My visit to South Africa had a dual purpose: To meet with the new defense minister and to visit a very interesting exhibition of armaments and combat technology, TEXA '94, held for the third time. There are several fields in which we would like to cooperate at the expert level: aviation, armored cars, simulators, and communications."

Rear Admiral Eremie To Command New Fleet

AU2911090794 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 24 Nov 94 p 4

[Article by Doru Iordache: "Rear Admiral Nicolae Eremie Will Command the Romanian Military Seagoing Fleet"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After the creation of the General Staff of the Romanian Military Navy, reorganization continued, with the creation of the Romanian Military Seagoing Fleet.

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This unit was created in two stages. In the first stage, the Fleet Command and two large units of vessels were set up. In the second stage, in October and November, two other large units of vessels were created and incorporated into the Military Seagoing Fleet. Other units were also created during this second stage, and incorporated into the regional logistic bases of the coast artillery and other, smaller, units subordinated to it.

Another large unit will be created in the first quarter of 1995 and called the Danube Fleet.

On the occasion of the conclusion of the last documents on establishing the new Military Seagoing Fleet's command system, Rear Admiral Nicolae Eremie, commander of the newly created institution told us: "This reorganization was effected as we went along, without affecting the combat capacity of the Romanian Military Navy. Proof of what I just said is the fact that we participated in two large-scale exercises, Maritime Partnership and Pontica '94, where the new system proved its efficiency with the very good results obtained."

Newspaper Examines PKK Activity in Romania

AU2911195094 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 26-27 Nov 94 pp 1,3

[Report by Radu Tudor and Daniel Capatos: "Hakki Tunc, a Turk Who Shot His Wife in the Jaw, Is the Leader of the Romanian Branch of the Workers Party of Kurdistan"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to information received by our newspaper, a Turkish citizen called Hakki Tunc, who on the night of 23-24 November shot his wife in the jaw, is the leader of the Romanian branch of the Workers Party of Kurdistan [PKK]. His involvement in a very serious violation of the law could be a very good opportunity for the Romanian authorities to find out more about noteworthy aspects of the PKK network in Romania. In order to attain this goal, sound cooperation between the Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI] and the Ministry of the Interior is required.

The report on SRI activity in 1993-94 devotes an entire chapter to extremist terrorist organizations operating in Romania.

Two months ago, the daily EVENIMENTUL ZILEI included, in an extensive article, the major terrorist organizations that have connections and representatives in Romania. Our newspaper pointed out that the PKK is one of the most active extremist organizations in our country. To complement the information included in the SRI activity report presented to parliament, EVENIMENTUL ZILEI is hereby providing completely new information that has been obtained after several months of intensive documentation.

The PKK Becomes Undesirable in Romania, Too

In summer of 1992, the interior ministries of Turkey and Romania signed a protocol in which they agreed that any type of danger directed against one of the signatories should be promptly dealt with. At the Turkish side's request, Romania pledged to supply that country with all the information that it has on PKK activity. On the same occasion, Romania admitted for the first time that the PKK has branches in Romanian territory and that the organization had been declared illegal because of the terrorist nature of its activities.

After this indication from Romania, cooperation between Istanbul and Bucharest has continued, although all public reference to the PKK has been avoided.

EVENIMENTUL ZILEI is in possession of certain information to the effect that the PKK headquarters in Romania is in Bucharest. One of the goals of the immense inflow of Turkish citizens to our country was to strengthen the Kurdish minority in Romania. In Turkey the PKK is banned by law, and the leaders of this extremist party are under strict surveillance. The Kurdish minority there, which amounts to almost 700,000 people, claims autonomy for Kurdistan, the region between Turkey and Iraq.

Over a million Kurds live in Iraq and all of them come under heavy pressure from, and are sometimes subjected to armed actions by, the Istanbul and Baghdad governments. Consequently, many Kurds have sought refuge in the West. The way to the West goes through Romania.

Over 3,000 Kurds Are Living in Romania

Owing to the many business possibilities that appeared in Romania after the events of December 1989, over 3,000 Kurds settled in our country. According to relevant estimates, more than half of these are PKK members. That is why they came to the attention of the intelligence agencies in charge of fighting terrorism in Romania.

The Anti-Terrorist Brigade of the SRI, the body specialized in fighting terrorism and preventing armed incidents, closely monitors PKK members in Romania. Almost every week, the fighters of the Anti-Terrorist Brigade make their strong presence felt in front of the Turkish Embassy in Bucharest in order to prevent possible terrorist attacks and to warn of a firm response to any extremist act. Lately, Kurdish propaganda in Romania has become very active. Around University Square and the North Railway Station one can see posters calling for the liberation of the Kurds from Turkish oppression through struggle of all types....

The North Railway Station Area Is a Busy Spot

The North Railway Station in Bucharest, where the inflow of Turkish citizens is very large and the transport companies on the Bucharest-Istanbul route are very numerous, is the location for intensive and numerous PKK activities.

The restaurants and hotels around the station are perfect places for conspiratorial meetings. The most profitable

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activities of the PKK members in Romania are in drug, false passport, and arms deals, which are carried out under a legal cover. Lately, deals involving radioactive substances have provided unexpectedly good profits.

The restaurant "Memo" in the North Railway Station area is the busiest spot for the PKK branch in Romania. At certain times, heads of the passport and heroin-trafficking networks—who at the same time are also PKK members—hold meetings there to iron out new details of ways to send Kurdish refugees from Turkey to the West. The activity of the PKK leaders involved in trafficking in banned products and people is financed by the most prosperous Kurds in Romania—who are patrons of various companies, physicians, and others.

Hakki Tunc, Leader of the PKK Branch in Romania

The leader of the PKK branch in Romania is Hakki Tunc, who has been residing in Romania for over two years.

For more than a year, his tourist passport has been retained by the Turkish Embassy in Bucharest, which is directly interested in finding out about the moves of PKK members. According to certain verifiable information, Hakki Tunk is also renting a room at the Park Hotel in Bucharest. The entire hotel staff knows him. They do not know, however, that he is one of the heads of the PKK and that Tunk is one of the few people who is in direct contact with the PKK's world leader Abdullah Ocalan, called Apo. Apo —who is wanted by many secret services, especially the Turkish ones—is supposedly hiding in Damascus, the Syrian capital, and the PKK's major training base is located in the al-Biqa Valley in Lebanon.

The illegal transit of Kurds to the West has intensified in Romania, mainly in September, October, and November.

Thousands of Kurds Transit Through Romania to the West

Before leaving Romania, the Kurds are located in the counties of Timis, Arad, and Bihor. In Timisoara, the Hotel Astoria is the place mostly used by the Kurds, while in Bihor County, several hotels in the well-known Baile Felix spa are host to Kurdish refugees, who cross the border illegally with the help of paid guides.

We believe that the main intelligence services that follow such activities—the SRI and Military Unit 0215—should take official note of the information included in this article, verify the dates obtained by EVENIMENTUL ZILEI, and begin keeping a closer watch on the members and sympathizers of the PKK in Romania. The interest in the activity of the PKK in Romania goes beyond our country's borders. We could mention, in this connection, the visit of reporter Metin Dalman, the Bonn correspondent of the biggest daily in Turkey, CUMHURIYET, to EVENIMENTUL ZILEI's editorial office.

He wished to find out from the author of the article "Nine Extremist-Terrorist Organizations Are Operating on Romania's Territory" further details of PKK activity in Romania.

After the publication of the article in EVENIMENTUL ZILEI [on 12 August], a communique from the Kurds living in Romania, written in Romanian, was delivered to our newspaper's editorial office. The communique expressed indignation that Romanians also consider Kurds terrorists, and the Kurds called attention to the fact that they are only fighting for the liberation of Kurdistan, the territory that they claim.

The heading of the communique, which included the right to reply, carried an address and a telephone number written in Greek. If we also mention that the latest Kurdish congress was held in Sofia, the Bulgarian capital, we already have a picture of how the Kurds are spreading throughout the entire Balkan peninsula.

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Butrus-Ghali Arrives in Sarajevo for Talks

AU3011105294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali confirmed his arrival in Sarajevo, Major Gourmelon, press spokesman of Sarajevo command of UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR], stated for B-H PRESS this morning.

As an advance party, Yasushi Akashi, secretary general's special envoy, and General de Lapresle, UNPROFOR commander for former Yugoslavia, were expected to arrive in our capital at 1000.

Upon his arrival, Butrus-Ghali will first visit the UN soldiers stationed on the airport. Then he will go to the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina to hold official [word indistinct] talks with the representatives of legal Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities. After the talks in the Presidency, secretary general will visit the residence and the command of UNPROFOR in Bosnia-Herzegovina from where he will in the afternoon travel to the airport, Major Gourmelon said.

UN press spokesman confirmed that the schedule of secretary general's visit also envisages a meeting with the aggressor's side on the Sarajevo Airport. The secretary general will meet with the representatives of Karadzic's Serbs at the airport directly prior to his departure, Major Gourmelon said in his statement for B-H PRESS this morning.

Serbs Say Muslims Planning 'Incident'

LD2911231294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2253 GMT 29 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 29 Nov (TANJUG)—The security service of the Srpska republic has acquired reliable information proving that the Muslim authorities in Sarajevo are planning to take advantage of tomorrow's visit by UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali to stage a fresh incident at Sarajevo airport and the city itself, for which they would blame the Serbs. This was announced by the office of the Serb republic president this evening.

As SRNA reports, it is with this intention that news is being spread to the effect that the Serbs fired missiles at certain buildings in the part of the city under their control and that they activated missile systems around Sarajevo airport.

The statement goes on to say that, while manipulating public opinion, "the Muslims are carrying out preparations and deploying forces around the airport planning to cause an incident for international representatives and blame the Serbs for it."

Ganic Comments

AU2911171094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 29 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali is due in Sarajevo tomorrow, Ejup Ganic, Presidency member and vice president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, told B-H Press following a telephone conversation with the UN Secretary General's special envoy Yasushi Akashi who informed him of the UN Secretary General's arrival in Sarajevo.

Butrus-Ghali will be accompanied by his political adviser Mark Goulding, special envoy Yasushi Akashi, and General Michael Rose, UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] commander in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The objective of this visit is to establish a cease-fire, freedom of movement for UNPROFOR, and the delivery of humanitarian aid, Ejup Ganic told B-H Press.

Mladic Demands Flight Plans of NATO Jets

AU2911164094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 29 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Criminal Ratko Mladic, the commander of the Serbian aggressor forces, has refused to set free 165 UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] troops blocked in eastern Bosnia, despite earlier promises by Karadzic's Serbs that they would do so.

The REUTER Agency quotes the statement of an anonymous UN official in Sarajevo that the criminal Mladic has said that he would allow the passage of convoys once he has the flight plans of NATO jets.

Mladic Vows To Release 90 Dutch UN Troops

BR3011125394 Amsterdam DE VOLKSKRANT in Dutch 30 Nov 94 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Serbs Promise To Allow UN Troops To Leave"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Amsterdam—The 90 Dutch UN troops who have been blocked since Saturday [26 November] in eastern Bosnia should be released this morning. Ratko Mladic, the commander in chief of the Bosnian Serbs, said he would allow the Dutch forces to leave on Tuesday evening [30 November] at one minute to midnight. The two Dutch UN convoys will be able to leave only this morning, because there is no traveling at night due to security considerations.

The Dutch Defense Ministry has twice received confirmation of the Bosnian Serb promise from the UN Bosnia-Herzegovina command in Sarajevo. "However, we are making the necessary reservations. A promise is a promise, but we will see only tomorrow morning whether they really are able to leave," a Defense Ministry spokesman said yesterday evening.

Those concerned are 20 Netherlanders from the Support Command in Lukavac who are blocked in Paraca, 10 km

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southwest of Zvornik. They have repeatedly indicated that they are in good condition.

There has been no direct contact with the 70 Dutch soldiers on leave from Srebrenica who were stopped near Zvornik. The local Bosnian Serb commander Vukovic said they were being well looked after.

Yesterday Mladic indicated that he was ready to allow the Netherlanders to leave, the Defense Ministry said. Bosnian Serb Army spokesmen approached the UN negotiators who in the past days have negotiated in Pale over the blocking of at least 400 UN soldiers throughout Bosnia.

The Defense Ministry did not know what was happening with the other UN troops who are blocked. Since Saturday 62 British UN troops have been in Rogatica and Ustipraca. On Tuesday, the Bosnian Serbs hinted at a release of the British, according to British news agency REUTERS. [passage omitted]

500 Peacekeepers Surrounded

AU2911205794 Paris AFP in English 2000 GMT 29 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Hague, Nov 29 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb forces have indicated they would be willing to release overnight Tuesday 90 Dutch UN peacekeepers held in eastern Bosnia, the defense ministry said here citing reports by UN officials in Sarajevo.

The ministry said it was optimistic but cautious about the report and would wait until Wednesday morning to find out whether the Serbs stick to their word. It said the Dutch peacekeepers would not try and move out of the region until Wednesday morning as it would be risky for them to travel at night.

Some 500 peacekeepers throughout Bosnia were surrounded by Bosnian Serbs over the weekend following NATO air raids on Serb positions near the embattled northwestern enclave of Bihac.

British Soldiers Freed; Arrive at UN Base

LD3011124294 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1225 GMT 30 Nov 94

[By John von Radowitz, PA News]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] British soldiers held hostage by Bosnian Serbs arrived at a UN base near Sarajevo today and said they felt "fine" after being freed.

Negotiations were continuing to secure the release of a second British convoy of 20 engineers which was halted while trying to enter the eastern Bosnian enclave of Gorazde, where 60,000 Muslims are surrounded by Serbs.

The freed convoy, consisting of about 43 British peacekeepers from the Royal Gloucestershire Berkshire and Wiltshire regiment, was in the town of Kisljak, about 20 miles north-west of the Bosnian capital. Rida Turshany, UN Protection Force spokesman in Sarajevo, said: "They arrived early this morning. I spoke to them at about 10am and they were having breakfast. They are fine."

The convoy had been stopped by Bosnian Serbs as it attempted to leave Gorazde on Saturday.

"Negotiations are still going on to secure the release of the second convoy, but I cannot say more about that," said Mr Turshany.

Two Dutch convoys with 102 soldiers were also halted on Saturday, one heading into the enclave of Srebrenica and the other heading out. UN negotiators were hoping that one of the Dutch convoys would be freed later today.

More than 200 other peacekeepers were thought to be held by Bosnian Serbs to prevent possible Nato air strikes against Serb troops who have entered the UN-designated "safe area" of Bihac in northwestern Bosnia.

Serbs Hold UN Observers at Banja Luka Airport

LD2911134394 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1300 GMT 29 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bosnian Serbs have detained three UN military observers at an airport in Banja Luka. One of the observers is a Czech. This was reported by AFP today.

The UN military observers headquarters in Zagreb has declined to comment on the information.

However, a trustworthy, well-informed source in the war-conflict area in the former Yugoslavia told CTK that the Czech military observer, together with his two colleagues, a Bangladeshi and a Jordanian, has been held captive at Banja Luka for a week. The observers were allegedly held at the airport apron as shields against possible bombardment by NATO aircraft. They were later transferred to an airport building. The captives still have all their possessions, but are prevented from leaving as the only route from the airport is blocked and the area around the building is mined.

Serbian Offensive on Bihac Continues 30 Nov

AU3011122794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 30 Nov 94

[Report by Muhamed Mujic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Fierce aggressor's offensive continues today in all parts of the front within the theater of operations of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps, especially in the Bihac safe haven, which is trembling with powerful explosions.

Early this morning, the enemy activated artillery and tanks and shelled the defense lines, the outskirts, and the town itself. Since last night [words indistinct] more than

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1,000 [word indistinct] projectiles that [words indistinct]. [Words indistinct] civilians [words indistinct] bullets and antiaircraft machine guns and guns, because the enemies from the surrounding hills directed fire at the town's streets and residential quarters.

The situation in Bihac hospital continues to be critical. [word indistinct] and sanitary materiel are in short supply, while the number of [word indistinct] is growing daily. [Words indistinct] approximately 900 beds, currently more than 2,200 injured and sick people are being treated while battles with the enemy units are raging a few hundred meters away from the hospital buildings. [passage omitted]

Defense Lines Hold

LD2911221994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 29 Nov 94

[Report from Zagreb by Nada al-Isa]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] After a very difficult day of war, the defense lines of the Bosnia-Herzegovina army's 5th Corps on the Bihac battlefield remained firm today. It is difficult even to imagine, but it is a fact that that on average a shell fell on Bihac every five seconds today. A new brigade of the aggressor's army has arrived at the Bihac battlefield from Gracac in Lika.

There is another important piece of news: It is not true that the aggressors yesterday captured, as they claim, as many as 600 members of the 5th Corps. The pictures sent into the world by the aggressors' television show the remnants of Fikret Abdic's paramilitaries, who only pretended to be the 5th Corps soldiers. [passage omitted]

Inter-Muslim Fighting Reported

LD2911163594 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1530 GMT 29 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] After open armed clashes with the 5th Muslim Corps, members of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO—Bosnian Croat forces] in the Bihac area have been deployed in the front ranks as a human shield for the Muslims in places where the fiercest fighting is going on with the Serb Army.

Radio Velkaton [pro-Abdic] reports that the inter-Muslim fighting in the Cazin Krajina [Bihac pocket] reached a high level of intensity in the area of Elezovici, where the 5th Corps carried out several artillery and infantry attacks on the positions of the army of the Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia. On this occasion, Abdic's forces captured large quantities of military equipment, the radio says.

Muslims Expect 'Final Assault'

AU2911182894 Paris AFP in English 1647 GMT 29 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Zagreb, Nov 29 (AFP)—Serb forces in the besieged northwestern Bosnian enclave of Bihac have drafted up to 10,000 reinforcements from Banja Luka, some 90 kilometres (60 miles) to the east, the Bosnian army charged Tuesday.

In a report released in Zagreb, the Bosnian 5th Army Corps defending Bihac, nominally a UN-protected safe area but under siege from the Serbs, said it expected a final assault by the end of the week.

"The Serb forces have received reinforcements of about 5,000 to 10,000 soldiers from Banja Luka," the mainly Moslem corps reported.

They said 13 shells fell Monday near the headquarters of the Bosnian government forces in Bihac and confirmed a report from the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) that one civilian had been killed.

A 5th corps spokesman said the Serbs had deployed helicopters from Banja Luka firing rockets at civilian targets and charged they were hitting Bihac "on average twice a day."

The Serbs' furthest advanced lines are just 500 meters (yards) from Bihac hospital, where medical supplies are running low. About 2,000 people are being treated at the clinic, whose normal capacity is just 900. [passage omitted]

UNPROFOR meanwhile said three Croatian Serbs were killed Tuesday in a UN-created zone designed to keep Croatian troops and secessionist Serbs apart. Nepalese UN troops found the bodies of the Serbs in the forest at Prasnik near the Belgrade-Zagreb motorway, UN spokesman Michael Williams said in Zagreb. Calling the shooting deaths a "very serious incident," he said UNPROFOR was investigating.

The no-man's-land area was established under the terms of a ceasefire signed in March by the Croatian army and the secessionist Serbs of the Krajina region. But Williams said violations of the accord had been on the increase in recent days.

Hunger, Disease Increasing

AU2911154494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 29 Nov 94

[Report by Muhamed Mulic from the Bihac front]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Bihac protected area since this morning has been resounding with powerful explosions on the defense lines and in the suburbs. The Serbian aggressor has employed all kinds of artillery and tanks in an attempt to push through to the town center. The fiercest fighting is in progress in the areas of Zegari, Debeljaca, the Grabez Plateau, and on the route toward the former Zeljava Airport from the UN Protected Areas in Croatia.

Along with these relentless artillery and tank attacks against the UN protected area, the aggressor has on several occasions also deployed its infantry, which the

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members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps successfully repelled. Currently the greatest danger to the civilians in Bihac is caused by the artillery and antiaircraft attacks—with antiaircraft machine guns and self-propelled Praga antiaircraft guns—on the streets of the town, as well as hunger, which is threatening some 200,000 inhabitants of the region.

In addition to the intensive enemy attacks against the protected area, another great problem is a fresh, massive wave of refugees. Along with the lack of shelter and food, the first cases of infectious diseases have been reported. The situation in the Bihac hospital is dramatic. There is no medicine, dressings, or food. All appeals for help sent from this exhausted town have unfortunately remained without concrete results. That is why the citizens of Bihac—and not only they—are asking: Why have we been forsaken by the international community and condemned to die in the largest concentration camp in the world? For the past three years this part of Bosnia-Herzegovina has been under complete enemy encirclement.

Shelling, Deaths Reported

AU2911210894 Paris AFP in English 2003 GMT 29 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Nov 29 (AFP)—Serb forces stepped up their bombardment of Bihac Tuesday afternoon, reportedly claiming six lives in an artillery barrage that the town's defenders saw as preparation for a final assault later in the week.

Reporting a "certain increase" in shelling, a UN Protection Force spokesman in Sarajevo said a 16-story building was hit by artillery fire, but was unable to give any indication of casualties.

Lt. Colonel Herve Gourmelon said two shells fell in the center of the town Tuesday morning, and were followed by heavy machinegun fire.

In a telephone link to Zagreb, a spokesman for the Bosnian army in the town told AFP that six people were killed and 91 seriously wounded during Tuesday's shelling. Sandi Zulic said "more than 10,000 projectiles" had landed on the town since Tuesday morning. [passage omitted]

Serb radio in Pale said Abdic's forces seized control of several dominant positions east of Velika Kladusa, and that fighting for the centre of Abdic's former stronghold had entered its final stages.

No independent confirmation of the radio reports was available. [passage omitted]

In Sarajevo, three wire-guided missiles fell on the eastern suburb of Bistrik in the afternoon, a UN source said. There were no reports of casualties.

Mayor Blames UK

AU3011105894 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 30 Nov 94 p 1

["plo-"initialed report on interview with Hamdija Kabiljagic, mayor of Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bihac/Vienna—"At about 1600, heavy Serb fire starts again. Once every five seconds a shell explodes in Bihac. A UN armored vehicle and the hospital were hit," Hamdija Kabiljagic, the mayor of Bihac, told DER STANDARD on the telephone on 29 November. Pakistani Blue Helmets then asked the Bosnian Government Forces for protection. "The UN soldiers have 300 guns but no ammunition and no supplies," Kabiljagic said. Two helicopters fired missiles at Bihac at night from Serb-occupied Krajina.

Kabiljagic severely criticized British Prime Minister John Major for pursuing a "fascist policy." London was blocking the UN Security Council, thus protecting the aggressors, and is responsible "for the genocide in Bihac." Then the line went down. The building from which the mayor was calling had come under fire.

Serbs Launch Malyutka Rockets at Sarajevo

AU2911133294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 29 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The 1st Corps Information Service reports that, before 1230 today, the Chetniks launched four (?biggest) Malyutka rockets at the city center, the Sarajevo Stari Grad Municipality. The rockets were launched from the region of (Bicka Kula). As we have already reported, a general danger alarm has been sounded in our capital city, so citizens are asked to be most careful.

Serbs Restrict Gas Supply to Sarajevo

AU2911174394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 29 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] We have received information from the Sarajevo Electricity Board on supplying consumers which reads as follows:

Owing to the grave energy situation in Sarajevo, only priority consumers will have electricity. Should conditions arise that make possible general public distribution, this will proceed according to distribution lists. The districts of Hrasnica, Butmir, and Sokolovic Kolonija do not have electricity because the Serbian side has still not consented to repairs being made. [passage omitted]

Sarajevogas has informed us that the aggressor has completely closed off the supply of natural gas to the city. The symbolic quantities of natural gas in the city gas network are a consequence of the worn state of the closed valves on the aggressor side. Available information suggests that the Zvornik-Sarajevo gas network is being supplied with less than the usual quantities of natural

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gas, but that the (?Butila) [word indistinct] has enough gas to enable the supply of the free part of the city, should the aggressor respect the signed agreement on normalization of the natural gas supply to Sarajevo. [passage omitted]

Shutoff Complete

AU3011122194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevogas reports that in the course of the morning, at approximately 1030, a complete blockade of the gas supply to Sarajevo occurred on the valves controlled by the aggressor. The towns' gas network is rapidly running out of gas and shortly all parts of town will be completely without it.

The authorities in the town and the republic and UN Protection Forces have been informed about the situation. Users throughout the town are warned to make sure that they close all valves on gas appliances and keep them closed until they are informed that the gas supply to the town has been restored.

Serb Forces Advance on Herzegovina Front

LD2911125394 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 29 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Soldiers of the Srpska army's Herzegovina Corps have significantly improved their tactical positions in clashes in the Glavaticevo area at the Kalinovik-Konjic section of the Herzegovina front. According to the information service of the Herzegovina Corps, Serb soldiers captured the Orlov Kuk and Cetkov Kuk hills yesterday. Units of the 4th Muslim Corps had launched mortar attacks on the Glavaticevo area from these elevations.

Serbs Intensify Attacks on Cazin, Bosanska Krupa

AU2911202194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 29 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] As we have already reported, the Bihac district is today going through one of its worst days. Over 1,000 various artillery shells this afternoon landed on the immediate town center and suburbs. After the Chetniks' attempts to destroy and torch everything and thus at least break through the defense lines and enter the city, today they particularly shelled the Bihac center.

According to still incomplete information, several people, children among them, have been killed. Dozens have been injured in the shelling of the town and by the Bofors and antiaircraft guns firing on the streets and at residential areas. Karadzic's and Martic's Chetniks are also demonstrating their bestiality in attacks against the Velika Kladusa municipality. In the afternoon they intensified their artillery attacks on Cazin and the free part of Bosanska Krupa.

Today again citizens of Bihac and other areas have organized actions that lent heartfelt support to the defenders. Numerous blood donations and other forms of aid—carried out under a hail of shells and bullets—have also been reported. Mirsad Veladzic, plenipotentiary for the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation Government, has again written to UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali and all international organizations to stop the aggression against the Bihac district carried out from UN Protected Areas in Croatia, Mirza Sadikovic reports.

Serb Attacks on Gradacac, Zvornik Fronts

AU2911204994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 29 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] On the Gradacac front, a tank from Krecane throughout the afternoon fired at the immediate town area, which was hit by over 30 destructive shells. The material damage is great, while the situation on the defense lines remains unchanged, reports the Information Service of the 107th Chivalrous Motorized Brigade Gradacac.

The aggressor today used artillery to target the free Zvornik territory. Using tanks and a B-1 gun they targeted residential areas in the region, while our defense lines came under Chetnik small arms and antiaircraft fire. All the defense lines of the 206th Chivalrous Hill Brigade are strong and stable, Enes Hasanovic reports from the brigade's information service. [passage omitted]

Muslim Army Continues Attack in Northwest

LD2911160294 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1530 GMT 29 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Drvar—Units of the 5th Corps of the Muslim army today continued their infantry attacks, supported by light missile launchers and mortars, on Serb army positions on the Krupa and Pritoka-Grabez plateaux [northwestern Bosnia], the SRNA [Bosnian Serb news agency] correspondent says in a report from the area.

Members of Izetbegovic's units last night and this morning used artillery pieces of all calibers to shell the whole length of the line of separation and other parts of the Bihac front. In these attacks, Serb sources say, there were no wounded or killed on the Serb side, and soldiers in the Srpska republic army are firmly holding their lines.

Army Liberates Facilities on 4th Corps Front

AU2911163994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 29 Nov 94

[Report by the 4th Corps Information Service]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Bosnia-Herzegovina 4th Corps theater of operations—particularly in the (?Delmic) area—has been exposed to a fierce Chetnik

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offensive for the tenth day running. Our defenders have been resisting the aggressors throughout the offensive and are not allowing them to push forward from the Delmic plateau and Zupa.

In a counteroffensive launched yesterday, the joint units of the 4th Corps and the Ministry of Interior routed the aggressors in the wider area of the Ljuta River and liberated facilities of vital significance for the area of Delmic and Zupa: (?Pec), Strogovi, and Boziljak. In this way, in addition to the great losses inflicted on the enemy, they have created tactical conditions for our forces' further progress. Among the killed aggressor soldiers is Captain Branko Koprivica.

On other parts of the front in the 4th Corps theater of operations, in addition to constant shelling of the M-17 route and the Dopolje basin, it has been reported that the Serb-Montenegrin aggressor is concentrating on the routes: Borci-Konjic, (?Zjemlje)-Rujiste-Bijelo Polje, and Cobanovo Polje-Blagaj. Our forces are ready to respond to all possible aggressor attacks on the above-mentioned routes. After losing positions at Strogovi, Pisut, and Boziljak, the aggressor is destroying civilian targets with heavy artillery, mortars, and other destructive shells. The 4th Corps troops and officers are ready to defend every inch of territory and to respond to each fresh attack of the Serb-Montenegrin aggressor.

Army Takes Serbian Installations in Ljuta Valley

AU3011103594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 29 Nov 94

[Report by the 4th Corps information service]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] After a successful counterattack on the [word indistinct] front, the united 4th Corps units have taken full control of all dominant installations (?above) the Ljuta River valley, in the wider Bjelinice area.

The joy of our soldiers [words indistinct], which the enemy attacked with the aim of penetrating [words indistinct] and taking control of Bjelinice plateau.

The Serbian-Montenegrin aggressor shelled our defense positions in [word indistinct] and (?Konic), and sporadically opened fire from all types of (?artillery) arms.

Our reconnaissance team observed the aggressor regrouping, which suggests that they will try to recapture the installations they lost yesterday.

4th Corps Commander, Brigadier General Ramiz Drekovic congratulated all 4th Corps units for bravery demonstrated in the crackdown of the latest Chetnik offensive and liberation of important installations in Bjelinice-Krupa region. [passage omitted]

Situation in Cazin Reportedly 'Truly Bleak'

AU3011122894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 30 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] This morning we established radio contact with Radio Cazin. One of the questions our reporter Milorad Filoni asked Radio Cazin reporter [word indistinct] Rosic was about the current situation in the area:

[Begin recording] [Filoni] Colleague Rosic, bearing in mind that the aggressor is attacking your town daily, tell us what is the current situation?

[Rosic] Currently, colleague Filoni, we are being attacked from all sides in Cazin. We are in a [word indistinct] and a very specific position—from one side the Chetniks from the Serbian autonomous region of Krajina, from the other [words indistinct], from the third side the domestic traitors. Therefore, there really is (?no way out). However, we are fighting with all our might and will not yield. [Words indistinct] for this latest edition of news about the humanitarian situation in our district, about the shelling of [word indistinct] hospital, and about the daily suffering of civilians. What (?the civilians are enduring) [words indistinct] speak about it. The situation is truly bleak, however, we are hold on, fighting, and will not yield. [end recording]

Roundup on Fighting in Bosnia, 29 Nov

LD2911194994 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1933 GMT 29 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov. 29 (TANJUG)—Over the past 24 hours, the westernmost part of Bosnia was the site of heavy inter-Muslim fighting, Bosnian Serb army sources said Tuesday.

Troops of moderate Muslim leader Fikret Abdic neutralized several well-fortified outposts of the Sarajevo Muslim government Fifth Corps, regaining more territories in western Bosnia.

Abdic's Radio Velkaton reported strong detonations in Dubrave, only one km away from the town of Velika Kladusa, the center of the autonomous province of west Bosnia, and said Abdic's troops were about to regain the entire town.

Abdic and his supporters proclaimed the autonomous province of west Bosnia in September 1993, opposing the belligerent policy of Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic.

The Sarajevo Muslim government Fifth Corps overran the autonomous province of west Bosnia in late August, triggering an exodus of about 70,000 civilians and west Bosnia troops that fled Velika Kladusa and nearby settlements.

The Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA said Tuesday Sarajevo Muslim forces opened fire with different artillery weapons along the entire confrontation line with the Bosnian Serb troops and in other sections of the Bihac front.

SRNA said the Bosnian Serb troops were firmly holding their lines on the Bihac front.

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SRNA said after Bosnian Croat troops clashed with the Muslims' Fifth Corps, Muslims troops used them as a "live shield" in the sites of the heaviest fighting with Bosnian Serbs.

Elsewhere in Bosnia, Sarajevo Muslim forces attacked Bosnian Serb troops and civilian targets with various intensity near the town of Zvornik in eastern Bosnia, on Majevica mountains and in the broader area of the northern Bosnian town of Doboj.

Bosnian Serb army sources also reported fighting in northern Herzegovina, in the area between the towns of Konjic and Kalinovik, where Muslim troops on Tuesday continued attacks on Bosnian Serbs.

The sources said Bosnian Serb troops repelled several heavy Muslim infantry attacks.

Bosnian Serb army sources said Sarajevo Muslim forces attacked Bosnian Serb defenses and civilians targets between Mt. Ozren and the town of Vozuca in northern Bosnia.

The sources said the Bosnian Serb troops opened heavy fire, inflicting on Muslim troops considerable losses in human life and materiel.

Bosnian Serb sources also said Sarajevo Muslim troops were still using the U.N.-designated "safe area" of Gorazde, eastern Bosnia, for preparations for a new offensive. The sources said the preparations were well under way.

SRNA said Muslims were training troops in Gorazde, because they wanted to advance toward a demilitarized zone of Mt. Igman near Sarajevo and join the Muslims' First Corps active in this area.

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Gligorov Receives New CSCE Mission Head

AU2911155694 Skopje MIC in English 29 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The President of RM [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] Kiro Gligorov and the Speaker of Parliament Stojan Andov received in Skopje yesterday, in a farewell visit, the head of the CSCE in Macedonia Norman Anderson. President Gligorov was presented the new head of the mission, Ambassador Tore Bogh, who will undertake his new duties in Skopje from the beginning of December.

In the talks, also attended by the Macedonian Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski, Gligorov positively assessed the cooperation to-date between Macedonia and the CSCE mission, as well as its role and contribution to the internal stability in the state. Gligorov emphasized the positive role that this mission, and Ambassador Norman Anderson personally had, in informing the member-states of the CSCE and the broader international public, about the situation in Macedonia, as well as the condition and results of the census of the population and the parliamentary and presidential elections in RM.

Ambassadors Anderson and Bogh were briefed on the preparations of the Macedonian delegation to take part in the upcoming CSCE meeting, which will be held in Budapest.

Abuse, Distribution of Cocaine, Heroin on Rise

AU2911121394 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 26 Nov 94 p 16

[Commentary by Saso Colakovski: "Cocaine at the Gates"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The history of smuggling and abuse of drugs in this region is more or less known: Drug use in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia], centered in the capital of our country, was first noted in 1969, and the first "small" dealers were discovered in Skopje some five years ago. Since that time this has explosively grown in uncontrolled dimensions regarding the number of clients and regarding drug dealers' networks of the most sophisticated type. Police data about the destruction of smuggling channels (which can be used as an adequate measure since 1990) reveal the following: In 1991-1992 a total of 10 narcotics channels were discovered and 38 kilos of heroin were seized, as well as 22 kilos of raw opium and 12 kilos of marijuana. Last year, for instance, 47 cases of drug smuggling were registered, 102 persons were accused, and over 78 kilos of heroin were captured, as well as a larger quantity of raw opium, marijuana, and various narcotics.... This indicates that in the last three years Macedonia has been promoted from a transit crossroad and a link in the Balkan drug road chain to a real narcotics market. It certainly is a notorious truth.

For a Gram of Cocaine—150 German Marks?

If in 1993 some high officials of the Macedonian Ministry of the Interior informed the public at a news conference that heroin is entering through open doors in our country, now, toward the end of this current year, we can freely say without exaggeration that cocaine is offered by the domestic narcotics dealers! No matter how incredible this could sound a couple of months ago, it really happened: Cocaine has penetrated the Balkan barriers, and it is just another confirmation about the links of the narcotics dealers' networks in global frameworks! This has definitely transformed Macedonia into an attractive narcotics market. (Although, speaking honestly, the Macedonian police have largely passed the world's average of 10 percent in detecting and destroying drug dealers' channels.)

"Coke" among Skopje drug addicts—there are indications that it is spreading beyond Skopje, too—has begun to be distributed "on a small scale" since recently, that is since less than two months ago. All this is new—for the addicts as well as for the distributors and for the police. Although in the first cocaine deliveries, the dealers sold a gram of cocaine for 300 German marks—the same quantity on the world's narcotics market is not below 500 to 600 German marks—the "coca" has found its clients. (As a comparison: One gram of heroin is offered here by street dealers for 50 to 60 German marks, while the price in the West is much higher—from 150 to 200 German marks, depending on its purity). In the last month the price of a gram of cocaine has drastically fallen down to 150 German marks. This clearly implies that "coca" is coming in rising quantity and that it is becoming a part of the "standard" offer on the narcotics lists of domestic dealers!

Where does South American cocaine come from in Macedonia? First of all, it is worth mentioning that recently changes have occurred in the usual constellation of relations in the narcotics business in the Balkans. Namely, Turkey still remains as the starting point on heroin's road to the West (in this country the raw opium that is distilled into heroin, or "white powder," usually comes from Afghanistan, Pakistan, or Iran). However, because of all this Bulgaria is becoming more and more the main distributor of drugs in this region, from where large deliveries are using developed routes to get to Central Europe and Scandinavia, as well as to the Appenines and Pyrenees. Large Bulgarian ports like Varna and Burgas are said to be the key points for distribution, and Sofia is the center of the road traffic. This is as far as heroin's distribution networks are concerned.

Narco Barter

However, in this context, but in similarly elaborate reverse trafficking networks, it is believed that cocaine is distributed within the Balkans. First of all, there is an assumption that the European cocaine networks are trying to test and penetrate the potential "coca" market in this part of Europe. The next dilemma is the price of the cocaine on the Macedonian narcotics market, which is far cheaper than the world's. However, this is nothing

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new in the world's drug dealers' practice at this moment: In order to conquer a market and "interest" potential drug addicts, some quantities at extremely low price are released, with the aim of reaching the real value on the developed narcotics markets.

The Skopje drug dealers for this period have found their permanent clients for "coca," although it is perfectly clear that this circle will remain closed for some time due to the high price of cocaine. Nevertheless, addicts in Skopje often exchange heroin for cocaine—three grams of heroin for a gram of cocaine! There are rumors among drug addicts in the Macedonian capital that those who can afford cocaine are using it as a way to "release" themselves from heroin.

The distribution of cocaine on the domestic narcotics market explicitly speaks of the fact that Macedonia is becoming open for the influence of the world's narcotics networks. It also means that there are possibilities in our country for "distribution" of new types of drugs that are meeting the new world's narcotics trends. There is the "crack" (distilled cocaine) that even long term drug addicts fear, and even the police fear, because it is an extremely destructive drug which causes an "explosion" and "darkness" in the mind of "crack" addicts after abuse.

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Drnovsek Proposes Referendum on Italian Demands

AU2911161094 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 29 Nov 94

[Igor Juric report from a news conference by Slovene Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek, in Ljubljana on 29 November—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Begin recording] [Juric] Prime Minister Drnovsek commented on yesterday's decision by the EU foreign ministers as follows:

[Drnovsek] Of course, we are very much dissatisfied with the Italian behavior. Our assessment is that this will in no way contribute toward good neighborly relations or creation of the new Europe.

[Juric] According to Drnovsek, the Italians have again shown that they want special favors from Slovenia and with this, have shown no interest in establishing more balanced relations. The prime minister again emphasized that Slovenia insists on the validity of already signed international documents. According to him, it is also a negative development that the European Union has accepted the Italian practice of pursuing bilateral relations in connection with multilateral relations and agreed to a larger country exerting pressure on a small one.

Bearing in mind that the Italians are incessantly repeating that Slovenia does not want to sign an agreement for internal political reasons, prime minister announced some measures that should clarify the situation:

[Drnovsek] For this reason I will propose to the European Union—either to the ministerial council or the EU Commission—the appointment of a special expert group that is to study the entire legal and historic background of the Slovene-Italian dispute and give its objective opinion about this dispute. We will also initiate a debate on these issues in the Council of Europe, primarily regarding the issue of minority rights protection.

I am calling upon Italy to publicly present its demands toward Slovenia before Europe and the entire world, to state clearly what it wants from Slovenia, so that this will become evident and clear to everybody. Then I will personally propose to the Slovene citizens that they decide whether such demands are acceptable or not at a referendum. [end recording]

Kucan Addresses WEU

AU2911161394 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 29 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] President of the Republic Milan Kucan, too, spoke about our relations with Italy in Paris today where he, as the guest of honor, addressed the deputies of the WEU [Western European Union] Assembly. Darja Mihalic reports from Paris:

[Begin recording] Slovene-Italian relations were the main topic of today's visit by Slovene President Milan Kucan in the WEU Assembly in Paris. In his address to the deputies, primarily intended to present the development of security and political structures in Europe and Slovenia's role and position in it, Kucan said that Slovenia cannot accept Italy's blackmail policy and that the common future of Europe cannot rest on such principles and practices.

Slovenia's problems with its neighbor, which is a WEU member, are not merely a minor, bilateral problem, said Kucan, about lack of goodwill on Slovenia's behalf and some 100 estates that used to belong to Italian citizens, but an attempt to redraw the results of the World War II and our and many other European nations' anti-Fascist struggle. [passage omitted]

Government Criticizes Veto

LD2911154494 Rome RAI Televideo Teletext in Italian 1514 GMT 29 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Slovene Government is "profoundly disappointed" with Italy's attitude, which, according to Slovene Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek, is vetoing his country's entry into the European Union.

According to Drnovsek, there is a threat that the relationship between the two countries may deteriorate because of the stance of Rome. Slovenia has called for an international group of experts to regulate controversial bilateral issues.

Slovene President Milan Kucan, who is currently in Paris, said that the veto on Slovenia's entry into the EU is "an injustice and discriminatory."

Deputies Accuse Kacin of Army 'Politization'

AU3011112194 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 29 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Twelve State Chamber deputies called for an interpellation of the work of Defense Minister Jelko Kacin. The minister is accused of the politization of the army, the employment of former aggressors in the ministry, the neglect of the parliamentary defense commission, disregard for the law on defense development plans, that is, irregularities in the purchase of helicopters, and finally, of taking vacations and private conversations with former Croatian officials at state expense.

The deputies who signed presented the interpellation at a news conference. Sandi Frelih reports:

[Begin recording] [Frelih] Ivo Hvalica, Brane Erzen, Joze Pucnik, and Joze Zagozen justified the charges of the politization of the Defense Ministry with the officers' communication training, during which officers underwent political questioning as a part of their duties, while the footage of this was, beside Minister Kacin, also

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viewed by Defense Ministry State Secretary Boris Znidarsic and the Director of the Security Administration Joze Pucnik:

[Pucnik] This represents the violation of certain constitutional rights that each state office employee—and, therefore, also the employees of the Defense Ministry—has. Second, as the text of the interpellation and the videotape suggest, pressure is being exerted on the political ideas and orientation of the employees in the Defense Ministry.

[Frelih] The signed deputies have no other proof to support the accusations of the politization of the army other than the videotape with the questioning of the alleged communication training. They hope, though, that they will obtain more before the parliamentary debate. It is suspected that questions—or, as they call it, the political checkup—were prepared by the ministry in advance. They obtained the information about all this from the offices affected.

Deputies and the parliament are not a court or judges. According to Zagozen, their role will be to ascertain political responsibility. The accusations are not insignificant. Joze Pucnik:

[Pucnik] If it transpires that only one of these charges is justified and proven, it would, in my assessment, be imperative to also think about the defense minister's replacement.

[Frelih] The signatories of the demand for the interpellation also reject criticism that their action has an electoral nature. They believe that the accusations in question are all too important. At the same time, they are not adverse to the idea of the defense minister providing his explanation this week. After the news conference, they played the controversial videotape to the reporters. [end recording]

Health Ministry: AIDS in 'Very Early Stage'

AU2911084594 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 28 Nov 94

[Report by Helena Lovrincic]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] According to the currently available epidemiological data, Slovenia at the moment is still in the very early stages in the spread of AIDS. Namely, we have 37 people registered as having AIDS, which is 22 times fewer than in neighboring Italy and seven times fewer than in Austria. This year we have identified 51 cases of new infections. Despite risky practices such as unsafe sex or sharing of needles for illegal drugs, none of these social groups has encountered a truly explosive outbreak of the HIV virus as of yet; however, we can expect this once the virus is introduced to such a group. In Slovenia we still do not know the number of prostitutes or their clients. However, we do know that half the intravenous drug users share needles.

Between 250 and 300 people arrive for tests at the laboratory of the Clinic for Infectious Diseases in Ljubljana annually; however, among those there are few who lead risky lifestyles. Also, half of the HIV-positive patients do not respond to the invitations of this clinic and, thus, we do not know how or where they are living.

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Federal

Minister Ready To 'Crush' Unrest, War

AU2911213794 Belgrade NEDELJNA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26-27 Nov 94 p 5

[Report by Z. Miladinovic: "'We Will Crush All Unrest'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Nis—"Should attempts be made to disturb the peace and security of our citizens, or cause unrest or war on the territory of Serbia and Yugoslavia, we are fully organized to crush them immediately." This was stated by Federal Interior Minister Vukasin Jokanovic at a meeting with Nis officials yesterday.

Jokanovic cited the intercepting and crushing of extremist and separatist activities on the territory of the country as a whole, and especially in Kosovo, as major successes for the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The channels for smuggling arms have been intercepted, the setting up of a paramilitary formation was uncovered in inception, and the organization of parallel organs of internal affairs in Kosovo has been curtailed, Jokanovic said.

Albanian separatism and Muslim extremism do not recognize borders and are trying to destabilize the situation throughout the country. Organized crime does not know borders either, and in this field we need close cooperation and coordination between the republican and federal Ministries of Internal Affairs, Jokanovic said.

He stressed that cooperation between the republican and federal Ministries of Internal Affairs was satisfactory, adding that the republican Ministry of Internal Affairs was fully justified in carry out some jobs until the relevant federal ministry becomes fully organized.

Serbia

SPS Member Views Bosnia, Krajina, Kosovo

AU3011115694 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 25 Nov 94 pp 16-18

[Interview with Radmilo Bogdanovic, member of the Socialist Party of Serbia and former Serbian interior minister, by Marijana Milosavljevic; place and date not given: "We Have Exhausted the People"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Radmilo Bogdanovic, the first Yugoslav policeman, is still in the view of many people as the gray eminence in the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS]. His humane, but still policeman-like appearance, probably contributes to it. He makes the impression of a spontaneous and well-intentioned man. Now he has numerous "small" functions: He is a member of the Serbian parliament, the vice-chairman of the Chamber of the Republics in the Federal parliament, a member of the parliamentary Committee for Security, and the chairman of the Committee for the Serbs Living Outside Serbia. Bogdanovic was the first SPS member to issue a statement after NATO launched an air attack against Krajina. Other SPS members did not make a single comment on it for two days; reports in the state-controlled media were extremely short. Reporters have already noted that Bogdanovic is always the first to comment on the unfolding of certain unfavorable events, which is explained by the fact that he is among those party members who they do not have to "ask for their own opinion."

[Milosavljevic] Would you please comment on the military intervention in Krajina?

[Bogdanovic] I simply could not believe that there would be a NATO air strike. I understood their threat, but I expected that an attack would be aimed at the Muslim-Croatian forces who incited the occupation of a part of the Bihac area. I could understand their threats somehow because they assumed that Krajina supported the Muslims in western Bosnia, that is Fikret Abdic's army. I did not expect them, however, to go that far; to not only bomb the airport, but also civilian targets, to inflict great damage, to use that power. We all know that the Republic of Serbian Krajina accepted both the peace plan and the UN forces. It is also participating in the negotiations with Croatia. The attack was launched at a moment when it was not at all expected. I do not think that such actions can lead to peace, such a decision is simply unacceptable.

[Milosavljevic] Is the Serbian political leadership surprised by the persistence Karadzic and his followers demonstrate in their policy that opposes the attitudes of "the elder brother?"

[Bogdanovic] They proved to be stubborn and to lack comprehension during the first meeting in Pale, after the famous Declaration No. 820 followed, which completely isolated us. It was clear then that they wanted to lead an autonomous policy, which we did not oppose, but they allowed themselves to pass decisions that affected all Serbs. This is what they are reproached for now. As far as I am concerned, I did not expect them to be as stubborn, irrational, and persistent as to pass yet another harmful decision. It is simply unbelievable. It is becoming evident that they have become arrogant because of the power they have. They have forgotten where they started. It is not clear what changed in their heads suddenly. There is not a normal head that can understand it.

[Milosavljevic] Have you met Karadzic?

[Bogdanovic] I have.

[Milosavljevic] What impression did he make on you as a man and a politician?

[Bogdanovic] He used to be a completely different man. I met him very early, when he became SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] chairman. After the Serbian Republic

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in Bosnia-Herzegovina and he as its chairman were accepted—and the same is true of all other SDS members who got important functions—from the moment they started travelling, when the world began to be interested in their opinion and started talking with them, they seem to have fallen in love with themselves. As you can see, they are showing their real faces now.

[Milosavljevic] The foreign press has been reporting on this issue more freely. Foreign newspapers go as far as to claim that they see Karadzic as Milosevic's only rival.

[Bogdanovic] I heard similar stories in Zvornik during the celebration of Liberation Day. These stories are unfounded, and I am reluctant to comment on them. These two politicians cannot be compared at all. During the last 10 years, Milosevic has shown who and what he is, both as a politician and as a patriot. We all know what he has done in order to unite Serbia, in order to make it a democratic country, and in order to retain peace—at the same time helping our brothers in the Republic of Serbian Krajina and in the Serbian Republic. He is so confident that the whole world recognizes and respects him. There is not a single day on which foreign negotiators do not want to see him. It is also evident that he is popular with the people, so any kind of comparison is inappropriate. Not even Karadzic can endanger him.

[Milosavljevic] If we judge him by his behavior, Karadzic does not share your opinion.

[Bogdanovic] What he is preparing in his head is a mystery. The Bosnian Serbs obviously support some kind of monarchy since there are still priests who are members of their parliament. It can generally be said that these rumors are unfounded, their aim is to provoke and to diminish in an incorrect way everything Slobodan Milosevic has done. It is certain, however, that he has to be given credit for what he has done. He will have no rival in this century, perhaps even longer. Karadzic cannot rival him.

[Milosavljevic] It seemed that the political leader supported by Mladic would gain an advantage, but Mladic has been silent lately, and it is almost impossible to reach him. How strong is his influence?

[Bogdanovic] First of all, I would like to tell you that there is no conflict between Karadzic and Milosevic. There are conflicts between the peace concept and the war option. Those who support the war option, think that they will profit if the war goes on. They neither think about their people in the Serbian Republic, nor about the Serbs and other citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. As far as General Mladic is concerned, I think that his significance has been exaggerated. This is proven by the fact that Karadzic has already taken over the command of the army and announced the proclamation of a state of war. He also presides over the parliament. This means that General Mladic does not have major powers any longer. This fact has been manipulated, for who knows what reasons.

[Milosavljevic] Don't you think that the idea that all Serbs should live in one state has already been discussed for too long to give it up, as this goal was given up by the SPS?

[Bogdanovic] Who denies that this as the final goal? The only controversial factor is how to achieve it. We think that the people in the Republic of Serbian Krajina should express their opinion on how they want be organized and with whom they want to live. In other words, we expect the Republic of Serbian Krajina to enter the confederation with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. We expect that the events will unfold in the same way in the Serbian Republic. This is the attitude of our party, and nothing has changed in this respect. This policy has to be led to the point, however, at which these people will be entitled to say that they do not want to live either in the independent Republic of Croatia or in Bosnia. We want to achieve this aim, but gradually! It is, in other words, necessary to divide territory, just as was done with the Republic of Serbian Krajina. It has to be pointed out at the same time that half of the Bosnian territory would have been lost if the Contact Group plan had been accepted. We have not given up the final aim; these are only imputations by the Serbian Radical Party [SRS] and some other parties. We have not changed anything in our policy.

[Milosavljevic] It would perhaps be better if the international community gave written guarantees.

[Bogdanovic] I do not know what is understood by a written guarantee. All negotiators gathered around the peace plan are serious and there is no reason to have doubts about their guarantees in advance. It is only logical that we would change our attitude if their behavior were hypocritical. We would have the moral right to change our attitude in that case.

[Milosavljevic] If there is an escalation of the conflict in Bosnia, will the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia retain its neutral position?

[Bogdanovic] You have asked a hypothetical question, and I would not like to give you an answer. I would not like it to come to such a situation.

[Milosavljevic] You are said to be an expert on Kosovo. Will there be a conflict there again?

[Bogdanovic] Everything I know about the situation there I have read in newspapers. It is evident that we are not happy with the situation in Kosovo in spite of the efforts we have made. There are dissatisfied people who claim that not enough has been done for Kosovo. This is the reason why the famous petition was written [petition by the Serbian Resistance Movement, denouncing current Serb policy in Kosovo, formulated in Pristina on 23 August 1994]. Decisions about Kosovo, which we used to pass all together, could not have been implemented so far, primarily because of the war in the former Yugoslavia and because of the sanctions. I, myself, know that,

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in spite of that, more could have been done. I would understand Solevic and Trajkovic [Serbian Resistance Movement leaders] if they had asked for a new meeting, for a discussion of priorities. A discussion of these matters, a critical analysis, and assessments are possible, but there is no reason for conflicts. The methods applied during previous conflicts in Kosovo are not necessary any longer. Petitions are not the proper way. The Kosovo problem developed in Kosovo and it has to be discussed there; but in good faith, however. It is not necessary to look for culprits.

[Milosavljevic] The Kosovo Serbs explain their actions by saying that they fear they could have the same destiny as the Serbs outside Serbia, and that the territory of Kosovo could become an issue in negotiations with the international community.

[Bogdanovic] We have local authorities in Kosovo, we have our administrative districts, we even have a minister who is the head of a district. Kosovo is a part of Serbia, and it is an internal Yugoslav issue. I was invited to participate in a round table discussion organized by BORBA on the topic of what would happen with Kosovo. Some foreign ambassadors were invited to the discussion, too. There is not a clever man or a serious politician who could accept such an invitation. Kosovo is a Yugoslav problem, it is of no concern for foreigners.

[Milosavljevic] Have concrete steps been taken toward the establishment of a dialogue with the Kosovo Albanians?

[Bogdanovic] Anyone who does not want to recognize Serbia is not a Serbian citizen. He is a separatist, and we do not want to talk to him. We have to talk with the Albanians, however, who recognize the Yugoslav Constitution. I think that the conditions for such a dialogue are improving. The suggested dialogue should refer to possible solutions to problems and not whether and how to divide Kosovo. No one is entitled to divide it, and no one is entitled to discuss the separation of Kosovo from Serbia. In other words, no one is entitled to discuss this problem in another way.

[Milosavljevic] Do you approve of the largest Serbian opposition party chairman's arrest?

[Bogdanovic] In my opinion, the conditions for putting Seselj where he belongs were fulfilled after the first incident in the Federal Parliament. Members of the parliament must not misuse their immunity in order to use violence. Seselj's arrest was not a personal matter. The SPS has no reason whatsoever to wage a war against the SRS because the SPS is a far better organized and a significantly larger political party. The only thing we do not allow is that parliament is blocked. So much for Seselj. I do not want to make any further comments.

[Milosavljevic] I would just like to hear what message you would send him.

[Bogdanovic] I have no message for him. I will tell him everything I want when I see him. I have never sent messages to a person in an unpleasant position.

[Milosavljevic] Since Rakitic's parliament members lost their mandates there have been rumors that the coalition between the SPS and the SPO [Serbian Renewal Movement] has been accomplished.

[Bogdanovic] There are various rumors. I would not like to comment on them. I only know that a decision was passed in compliance with the Constitution and laws. I consider every decision passed in that framework normal.

[Milosavljevic] There is the impression that the ruling party would not readily accept a new election.

[Bogdanovic] We would accept a new election, but the people suggest that they have had enough of elections. We respect this. We have exhausted the people with elections already. Furthermore, a new election would lead to a three-month interruption in the work of the parliament since it would have to be constituted again. No one could approve of that because of the many laws we still have to pass.

[Milosavljevic] Mr. Covic has promised that the adoption of laws will be sped up. However, there are no concrete results yet.

[Bogdanovic] This struggle is not fought with statements; it is not measured by the number of newspaper articles. We should allow the institutions to work, we should enable them to find proof. Not much should be written about it. Our president has held talks with the Supreme Court president and the attorney general, as well as with the minister of internal affairs. The only thing we can do now is to allow these people to accomplish their tasks. And they cannot be completed in a day or two.

[Milosavljevic] You have reiterated several times that you are a socialist and a leftist politician. There seem to be conflicts in this political wing. The controversy between the man and the woman with the same last name [Milosevic] is still present.

[Bogdanovic] I do not want to discuss this matter. The attitudes of both of them have been presented to the public. It is normal that people have different opinions. I do not see anything bad in it. It is not a tragedy if someone fights for his own opinion.

[Milosavljevic] What kind of relations are there between the SPS and the JUL [Yugoslav United Left]? Is it possible that certain rifts have become deeper and that these two parties have started to compete for power?

[Bogdanovic] No. We are a party oriented to the left. People from the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia are members of our government, and we have an excellent cooperation. We prefer them to certain rightists.

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[Milosavljevic] You are allegedly a close friend of Mirjana Markovic. What do you think about women in Yugoslav politics and about their influence on their husbands-politicians?

[Bogdanovic] I would not like to assess her influence on the president. People will always object, regardless of the fact whether she has a certain influence or not. Independent of him, she is a very capable politician and an excellent scientist. She has clear-cut attitudes and knows how to defend them. I really appreciate her. It is only natural that such a woman influences the man she has been happily married to for years. It is quite possible that politics is discussed in their house, even certain decisions, but this does not entitle anyone to interpret every step by the president that one disapproves of as a negative influence of his wife. This is a petty, bourgeois mentality, in my opinion. The Balkan mentality does not like the female brain, we should all fight against this prejudice. I readily accept the advice my wife gives me. I would like Mirjana Markovic's prognoses about the return of a matriarchate to materialize.

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